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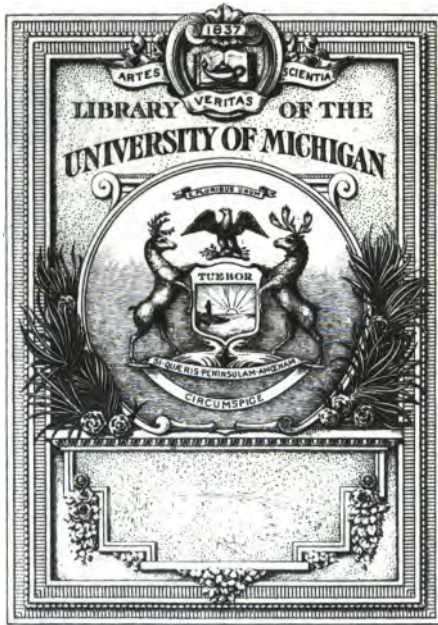
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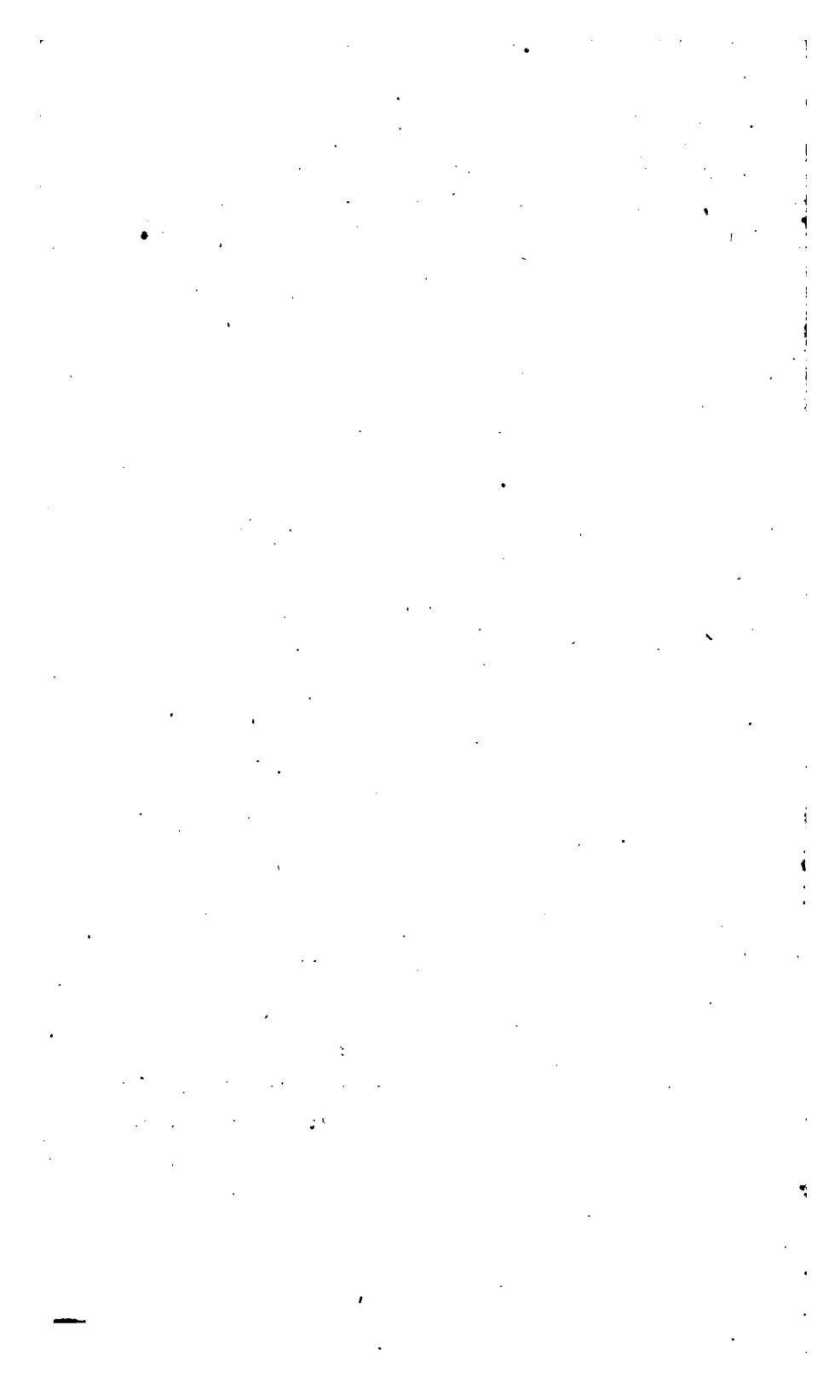


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I R E L A N D.

EARLIEST PERIOD,

SERIES OF LETTERS.

ADDRESSED TO

WILLIAM HAMILTON, Esq.

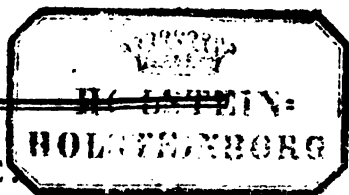
BY WILLIAM CRAWFORD, *A. M.*
One of the Chaplains of the FIRST TYRONE REGIMENT.

VOL. II.

STRABANE

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A

HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

LETTER I.

THE inauspicious reign of Charles the First commenced in the year sixteen hundred and twenty five.

UPON his accession, he found himself involved in a war with Spain and engaged in hostilities with the house of Austria for the recovery of the palatinate. The temper of his first parliament, suspicious of his unconstitutional designs, with respect to the liberties of the nation, was likely to encrease his difficulties. Encouraged by these circumstances and by a bull addressed to them by Pope Urban, in which he strongly dissuaded them from taking the oath of supremacy, the Roman Catholics of Ireland flattered themselves with the hope that more agreeable prospects were about to open to their view. Lord Falkland, who was continued in the government, and the council, having penetrated their sentiments, became uneasy that the military strength of the king-

MRS

03-27-28

dom was so inconsiderable. In consequence of their representations, his Majesty encreased the army to five thousand foot and five hundred horse. To defray this additional expence, no constitutional provision had been made. Charles had recourse to an easy and a simple method of obviating this difficulty. Supplying the place of law by a stretch of prerogative, he quartered his troops on the people whom he obliged to supply them, not only with lodging, but with money and other necessaries. The Catholics resolving to avail themselves of the King's present situation made him an offer of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds to be paid in three years, provided he extended to them the benefit of certain graces which they specified. Charles, though all denominations of Protestants warmly opposed the measure, complied with the proposal and transmitted the graces to Lord Falkland and the council, engaging, under the royal signet, that they should be confirmed in the ensuing parliament.

THE principal of the graces were, that his Majesty's claim to any lands in Ireland should not extend farther back than to sixty years; that recusants who held of the crown should be permitted to sue their liveries, ouster le main and other grants in the court of wards; that their lawyers should be permitted to plead at the bar upon taking an oath, instead of the oath of supremacy, that they acknowledged and would defend Charles as their lawful King; that the people of Connaught who had surrendered their lands and whose patents had passed the great seal, but through the neglect of an officer of the court, not enrolled, and therefore subject to forfeiture, should be allowed to enrol them and exempted from all future claims; that the exactions and outrages of the soldiers were to be restrained and that persons obnoxious

noxious to law were not to be protected; that the fees of the King's officers and the power of the court of wards were to be limited within proper bounds. That no pretended privilege should exempt ecclesiastical lands from contributing to the support of government. That the demands of the reformed clergy were to be duly restrained and regulated. These and the other graces, too numerous to specify, though purchased at so expensive a rate, were quite equitable in themselves and calculated for the relief of the subject. But the sanction of the parliament was wanting to give them due force and efficacy, which, seemingly with this view, was summoned to meet upon the third of November following. But the causes and considerations, as enjoined by law, had not been previously transmitted. This omission, was urged and the parliament did not assemble. In the character of Charles, dissingenuity was a leading feature. He gave orders that the parliament should be convened; this in appearance, discovered a disposition to please the recusants. A necessary form was omitted which defeated that design; this gratified the opposite party. Thus the graces were to rest upon the King's unconstitutional prerogative.

MEAN while the recusants, determined to fulfil their part of the agreement with the King, were active in their endeavours to raise the promised subsidy. Pleased with this proof of their loyalty and solicitous to engage their assistance in carrying into execution the designs which he had formed against the liberties of his English subjects, he gave instructions not to enforce with severity the penal statutes. Falkland cheerfully obeyed an injunction so agreeable to his own gentle, benevolent dispositions. But though the Deputy was benevolent, policy, which often warps the mind from the ingenuous and honourable

path of rectitude, prevailed with him to publish a proclamation forbidding the Roman Catholic clergy to exercise their religion in the open and public manner to which they had been encouraged by the indulgence of government. This proclamation occasioned by the complaints of zealous, indiscreet Protestants, was not enforced, yet it occasioned discontent in the minds of a number of the Popish party. Discontent produced complaints of Falkland, in respect to this 1630. and other measures of government. He was recalled; and Richard Earl of Cork and Lord Viscount Ely were appointed, in the capacity of lords justices, his successors.

If the Roman Catholics were dissatisfied with the late Deputy, they had now much more cause to complain. The laws against them were executed, by the new governors, with severity. As an instance of which, they ordered Saint Patrick's purgatory, situated in a small island of Lough Derg and held in great veneration by the Catholics, to be dug up and totally effaced. It was an act of unmanly intolerant bigotry, inconsistent with the benign spirit of the Gospel and with the dictates of all the kind feelings of the heart. When his Majesty became acquainted with them, the lords justices were ordered to desist from these proceedings.

Adieu.

L E T T E R II.

THE time of paying the last proportion of the subsidy was now at hand. So many were the wants of government that a new subsidy was necessary. It was demanded, but the Roman 1632. Catholics, whose grievances, notwithstanding his Majesty's positive engagement, had been very partially

partially redressed, refused to comply. The King declared, that, if they continued obstinate, the graces should be entirely withdrawn. In consequence, twenty thousand pounds were added to the former contribution, to be paid in four separate proportions.

CHARLES perceiving the difficulties in which his affairs were likely to be involved and that it would be of much importance to his interest were the government of Ireland under the direction of a man of abilities and on whose principles he could entirely depend, had some time before committed that office to Thomas Lord Viscount Wentworth. Among the friends of liberty and their country in that distinguished age Wentworth had been conspicuous in his opposition to the unconstitutional measures of Charles. But totally destitute of that noble principle, which raises the mind above selfish views where the public interest is concerned, he acted this part, to give himself consequence with government to which he looked up for the gratification of his vanity and ambition, the predominant passions of his heart. Whenever he had so far gained his point as to be taken notice of by the King, he threw off the mask, deserted his old friends and enlisted in the service of ministry. In reward of his prostitution, he was made president of York, received other proofs of the kindness of government, and, as a higher mark of royal favour, was made Deputy of Ireland. He was sworn into office the twenty fifth of July sixteen hundred and thirty three.

NEVER was the Irish nation ruled by a governor so artful, so haughty and tyrannical. That Ireland was a conquered country, that with respect to the privileges it enjoyed, it was altogether dependent on England, were the ideas which he entertained of this kingdom. His ideas and the principles on which he determined

determined to act, soon appeared very conspicuously. In his treatment of the council, he assumed a stately dignity and an insolent demeanour to which they had been little accustomed.

THE calling of a parliament, a measure to which the despotic principles of Charles made him very averse in both kingdoms, became quite necessary in Ireland to procure supplies and settle them on a more permanent foundation.

THIS measure being determined, Wentworth took every step to render it conducive to the wishes of his Majesty. It had been usual with the Deputy to summon the lords of the pale to council that they might have an opportunity of giving their advice with respect to the time proper for the meeting of parliament and the business to be transacted in it. To this custom, which was friendly to the liberties of the nation, Wentworth paid no regard.

THE council on meeting to consider of the bills to be transmitted, wished that certain bills, agreeable to the desires of the people and conducive to the public welfare, should accompany the bill of subsidy; and that the sum to be granted should be such as the country could bear and be particularly specified. "Your sole object," replied the imperious Wentworth, "must be to please the King; I will admit of no bargain, the subsidy bill must be transmitted with a blank to be filled up by his Majesty, at pleasure; if the parliament does not comply with his Majesty's desires, I will obey him should he order me to put myself at the head of the army and there either die or force the people to do what is fit and reasonable." The council were astonished, but instead of being roused into indignation by language detestable in a free country and which no man could use but the servile minion of a despot, they tamely submitted.

GREAT

GREAT pains having been taken, and with success, to procure a majority in favour of government, the parliament assembled. In his speech to it, the Deputy, to prevent any schemes from being laid by opposition, with a view to frustrate the wishes of the court, expressed himself in the following very extraordinary manner, " You must have no private meetings ; this, in the King's name, I must forbid, and am ordered to punish with a severe and a heavy hand." From his own letters, this appears to have been perfectly agreeable to his Majesty's instructions. Sir Robert Talbot ventured to make some remarks on the conduct of Wentworth, for which he was expelled from the house of commons and imprisoned. Six subsidies were granted, which, including the whole assessment on the lords, commons, and clergy, amounted to the enormous sum of three hundred thousand pounds. The object of the Deputy in burthening this country with a pressure so much beyond what it was able to bear, was not merely to supply the wants of the Irish government ; he desired also to be furnished with the means of assisting his Majesty in executing the designs which he had formed against the liberties of his English subjects.

NOTHING of any consequence was done in the lower house concerning the complaints of the nation. Those rights of the people of which they were the delegated guardians, seemed to have been to the members of it an object of no importance.

THE lords discovered a very different spirit. They spoke much of the King's promise with respect to the graces, they loudly complained of public grievances, they even, proceeded to frame certain bills, in behalf of the public good, in order to their being transmitted to England. As this was done, in contradiction

tradition to Poynings' Statute, the lords having no power, in the first instance, but that of remonstrating to the Deputy and council with respect to such points as they wished should be passed into a law, Wentworth entered his protest against the measure.

Farowell.

LETTER III.

IT had been settled betwixt Charles and the Deputy that there should be two sessions of the present parliament and that in the beginning of the first the act of subsidy should be passed. To procure money was the design for which the parliament had been convened, and by complying with it previous to the consideration of grievances, they gave up the only power, by the prudent exercise of which, the redress of them could be accomplished. But notwithstanding, there was a difficulty in the matter which it was necessary to obviate to save the character of the King from severe reflexions. It has been related that to procure a considerable sum from the recusants, his Majesty had engaged, under the royal signet, that the graces which they desired should be confirmed by parliament. Charles saw that some of the graces were inconsistent with his interest and though he did not scruple to promote his selfish designs, at the expence of sincerity, he had difficulty in breaking an obligation of so very particular a nature. To solve his doubts, Wentworth observed; that by Poynings' Law, he and the council were empowered to transmit or to suppress bills, at pleasure, that those of them proper to be sent over might be transmitted, the passing of which into laws would redound to his Majesty's honor; that such of them as were not conducive to his interest could be suppressed,

sed, the odium of which he would take entirely on himself and be responsible for the consequences. In this mean subterfuge, with which they were furnished by Poynings' Law, that instrument of despotism and disgrace to the Irish constitution, Charles acquiesced. The matter being thus settled, the parliament met on the fourth of November to which it had been prorogued. Upon the subject of the graces being introduced, he told the members that the favours promised by government were not to be considered as absolute; that they depended upon particular times and circumstances. With respect to the two principal points, the granting of which was inconsistent with the rapacious intentions of the crown, as will afterwards more particularly appear, he denied that the King's title, upon enquiry into claims relating to the past, should be limited to sixty years, nor would he permit the surrender of the estates in Connaught to be enrolled and new patents to be made out for the security of the possessors.

A LAW was passed to regulate the inheritance of estates, and another to restore the clergy to possessions of which they had been unjustly deprived and to prevent alienations in future. Some other bills desired by government were defeated by the recusants. But Wentworth established them by an act of prerogative.

IN the time of Edward the First, the crown granted to this country the privilege of a mint, from which a saving of several thousand pounds was derived to the nation. But this advantage was lost during the confusion of the times which followed. The lords and commons now united in a petition to the King to re-establish it, but his Majesty, indifferent to the welfare of Ireland, did not choose to comply with their request.

AGREEABLY

AGREEABLY to a late act, Wentworth made strict enquiry with respect to those who had alienated lands from the church. By his exertions, the clergy recovered property of which they had been deprived, to a very considerable amount. Many of the clergy continued shamefully ignorant, churches had fallen to ruins and there was a great deficiency of Protestant schools. These evils he took much pains to rectify.

ANOTHER point respecting religion engaged his attention. The sacred and unalienable right of private judgment, a right founded in reason, in conscience and the holy scriptures, justified Protestants in separating from the Church of Rome. But scarcely had the reformers extricated themselves from the shackles of human authority, when numbers of them, contrary to this privilege and in direct violence to the principles of the reformation, assumed a power of dictating to their fellow Protestants, in matters relating to faith and the modes of religion. This usurped claim had been very predominant in England. In Ireland, among other instances of this kind, a confession of faith, under the sanction of convocation, had, in the year sixteen hundred and fifteen, been drawn up by Archbishop Usher conformable, in a great measure, to the doctrines, the discipline and form of worship adopted by Calvin. This had been established by authority, and continued to the present time. There was nothing which Charles desired with more anxiety, than to establish a perfect uniformity of religion in all his dominions. In conformity to his Majesty's pleasure and his own arbitrary disposition, the Deputy resolved to accomplish this point in Ireland. With this view, he ordered the convocation to frame a set of articles for governing the church in points of belief, of discipline,

pline, and worship, similar to those which had been adopted in England. The lower house, into which the business was first introduced, proceeded with it in the manner that to them seemed best, rejecting those of the English articles which they did not approve. Wentworth was highly offended; censured them severely for presuming to determine upon a matter of which he did not consider them to be competent judges, drew up himself a code almost strictly conformable to the English articles, forced it by his authority through both houses of convocation, and transmitted it to obtain the sanction of the legislature. He concludes a letter to Laud, in which he gave him an account of his tyrannical proceedings on this occasion, with this decent boast, "So now I can say that the King is as absolute here as any prince can be."

To support this measure, to determine as the dernier resort, and to punish ecclesiastical offences, and at the same time, to put some money into his Majesty's coffers by the imposition of fines, a high commission court, with powers similar to that of England, was established in Dublin. The principles of this institution, the powers with which it was invested, and the mode of its proceedings were, in a high degree, arbitrary and unconstitutional.

THOUGH the divine spirit of charity and mutual indulgence so warmly recommended in the Gospel, had not by any means, as it ought, influenced the principles or the conduct of Protestants, the act concerning uniformity, mentioned above, favoured much more of intolerance than any measure respecting the different sects who had embraced the reformation, which, for some time past, had been adopted by government. In particular, from the time that the Presbyterians were encouraged to settle in Ulster

ster by James the First, the form being made agreeable to them, they received ordination from bishops as Presbyters, they were excused from the use of the liturgy, they sat in council with the bishops upon matters of common concern, some of them were even members of the late convocation; nor were they, though non-conformists, excluded from the churches and tythes until some time after the present period,

Farewell.

L E T T E R IV.

OF the many blessings by which Heaven has distinguished our country, you know it is remarkable for rich pastures. Hence, among other articles of commerce, an abundance of wool, of a remarkable quality, forms a principal branch of the staple of the kingdom. Wentworth, in violation of our commercial rights and in prejudice to the national interest, to benefit the British woollen manufacture, prohibited the exportation of wool even to England, without a license, which Charles had empowered his deputy to sell, and which brought in a large emolument. Another measure proposed by government, which the Deputy strenuously patronized, was to give his Majesty, in this country, an exclusive monopoly of salt.

BESIDES that mentioned, a great object of these political schemes was to encrease our subjection to England, by making us dependent on it for the common necessities of life. "How," says Wentworth, in a letter on this subject, "shall they be able to depart from us without nakedness and beggary?" He might have added, without perishing;

as

as salt was a mean of life, without which we could not possibly subsist. By such exertions of tyranny, did despots endeavour to destroy the rights of Irishmen. But scarcely any man is so perverted as not to do good, when by acting otherwise he can gratify no criminal desire or selfish passion. As our soil was favourable to the growth of flax, the working of which in cloth, was not, to England, an object of competition, the Deputy took pains to promote the Irish linen manufacture. He encouraged the importation of flaxseed from Holland, set our women to spin, erected looms and sent for persons skilled in the business from other countries. By these means, the foundation of a manufacture was laid, which, at an after period, so considerably increased, particularly in the North, as to be of the greatest consequence to the welfare of the kingdom.

I AM now to give you an account of a shameful transaction:—Upon a composition with Queen Elizabeth, the people of Connaught had agreed to become subjects of the crown. Indentures were duly executed, but, from the confusion of the times, their lands were not surrendered until the following reign. Unfortunately for them, the officer, as has been mentioned, employed to enrol them neglected to do it. James, most basely, resolved to take advantage of the omission, and, had he not been prevented by death, would have proceeded to seize their lands and convert them into an English colony.

CHARLES, now, determined to execute this scheme, in direct violation of his word, as the undisturbed possession of the estates in that province was one of the graces which he had promised, and engaged to secure by the sanction of parliament.

A COMMISSION of enquiry being issued, the Deputy, in defiance of common decency, set out in person,

son, upon this shameful undertaking. By overul-
 1635. ing influence, by cajoling and other scandal-
 ous arts, the juries were either awed or pre-
 vailed with to find for the King in the counties of
 Leitrim, Mayo and Roscommon. But the juries of
 Galway, supported by their lawyers and encouraged
 by the protection of their governor, the Earl of Clan-
 ricarde, brought in their verdicts in opposition to the
 claims of the crown. Wentworth enraged at this
 disappointment, punished them and the sheriffs, with
 imprisonment and a heavy fine. Not contented with
 this, he compelled them, on their knees and in open
 court to confess the crime they had committed, a
 crime which consisted in their presuming to do jus-
 tice, in obedience to the dictates of their conscience,
 and that in a matter wherein the property, the all
 of multitudes was concerned. So violent was the
 opposition made to this plantation, that government,
 some time after dissolved the commission and dropt
 all thoughts of proceeding with it.

GRIEVOUS complaints were made in England of
 Wentworth's unjust administration. But he despised
 them. Intoxicated with power, the gratifications of
 which highly delighted his pride, his vanity and am-
 bition, he determined to persevere in a course which
 was too violent, even in the opinion of the arbitrary
 Laud.

As the nation, at large, smarted under the pres-
 sure of his haughty and imperious government, in-
 dividuals did not escape the scourge of his oppres-
 sion. In a particular manner, his most indecent and
 unjust treatment of Sir Piers Crosby, of the Earl of
 1636. Kildare, of Lord Mountnorris, and the Chan-
 cellor, rendered him exceedingly obnoxious.
 But the zeal with which he entered into, and pro-
 moted

moted the views of the King, rendered him secure against every complaint, whether of a public or a private nature.

Not discouraged with the difficulties he had encountered, in the business of the Connaught plantation, in August sixteen hundred and thirty seven, he proceeded to establish his Majesty's claim to the lands of Clare, and that part of Ormond which lay in the county of Limerick. The people afraid of the consequence of resistance, submitted, and the title of the crown was recognised. But adventurers were unwilling to engage, and the settlement made little progress.

Adieu.

L E T T E R V.

THE same spirit which he had discovered with respect to this country, prompted Charles to introduce episcopacy into Scotland. Instead of gentle means, he endeavoured to force the measure by a stretch of authority. Animated by a laudable zeal, in support of the rights of conscience, the Scots, with determined firmness, opposed the attempt, and the more effectually to defeat it, drew up, subscribed, and published the solemn league and covenant. Wentworth, alarmed by the apprehension that the Presbyterians of Ulster, connected with Scotland their parent state, by the same form of religion, and by a constant intercourse, would follow its example, insisted upon their swearing to an engagement, disapproving of the conduct of the covenanters, and expressive of their duty and allegiance to the King. Those who refused the oath felt the severest effects of his displeasure.

By the covenant, the Scots being united in the common cause, took up arms in defence of it. The danger to which Charles was now exposed by his precipitate conduct, roused the Deputy to the most vigorous exertions in his behalf. He remitted to him, from the revenue of Ireland, thirty thousand pounds, and sent over to his assistance five hundred men. To keep the Scots in awe, he marched the army to the North, where, by his vigilance, he discovered a plot to deliver up the castle of Carrickfergus to the Earl of Argyle.

From another quarter, Charles was encouraged to entertain hopes of assistance. In the late reign, Randal Mac Donnel, upon his submission to government, received a grant of the extensive district of Rout, was created Viscount Dunluce and Earl of Antrim. His son, a man of weak understanding, but vain of his title, of his fortune, and of the honor and connexions he had acquired, by marrying the Dutchess Dowager of Buckingham, and still more vain of his supposed consequence in Ireland proposed, with the King's permission, to raise in this country a body of men, which, in the present emergence would do him effectual service. His offer was accepted by the King. In consequence, the Earl came over to Ireland, and began to recruit among the clans of Ulster, and the Mac Donalds of the Isles, but an accommodation with the Scots was concluded, before he had taken any effectual steps, towards the accomplishment of his foolish undertaking.

UPON the pacification with the Scots, the King had disbanded his army, whilst they, suspecting his sincerity, had kept theirs together. They soon found it necessary to recommence hostilities. At the same time, the parliament and many of the people of England were greatly discontented with Charles's repeated

repeated infringement of their liberties. Another army must be raised to support his cause, and he wanted the means. In this difficulty, he looked to Wentworth for aid, and to engage him to exert himself with more activity in his cause, gave him the title of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, created him Earl of Strafford, and made him a Knight of the Garter.

HAVING called him over to England, to consult with him in respect to the measures most proper to be taken, by his advice, the King was prevailed with, to convene the parliament of both kingdoms, as the easiest and most popular expedient for procuring a supply for his necessities.

THE Irish parliament met the sixteenth of March sixteen hundred and forty, in which the members favourable to the interest of the crown, were pretty numerous. Four subsidies were granted, and a declaration made, that they would give vastly more liberal aid, if his Majesty's situation should render it necessary. Having performed the services to the King, the Lord Lieutenant returned to England, to aid the King with his influence, at the meeting of parliament. In a short time, the active zeal of the King's friends here, mustered an army of eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse. But, in raising the money necessary to pay them, unexpected difficulties arose.

UPON attempts being made to collect the first proportion of the subsidies, the people, considering them as an unreasonable imposition, and dissatisfied with the service to which they were to be applied, in general, refused to comply. The influence of the puritans encreased, who were certainly the best friends of the constitution, and who took pains to encrease the public discontents. Recusants were urged to consult their own interest by exerting themselves, on the

present occasion, in opposing the measures of government. Charles had convened the English parliament, refused to redress the grievances of which it complained, and dissolved it. This new proof of his despotic intentions, increased the dissatisfaction of both kingdoms.

Adieu.

LETTER VI.

THE second session of the Irish parliament was of a complexion very different from that of the first. During the interval, the members had time to reflect upon their conduct, saw how very unpopular it had been, and how prejudicial to the public interest. The example of the English parliament taught them to be ashamed of the principles on which they had acted, nor was Strafford in the kingdom to direct their proceedings by his overruling influence. They now determined to behave with spirit. Accordingly, it was their first business to consider the grievances by which the nation had been so long oppressed. Complaints were not the only means which they used for their redress; they presented a remonstrance on the subject to Wandesford, who had been appointed deputy by Strafford during his absence. They complained, that the subsidies granted in the former session, were exorbitant, asserted the precedent to be dangerous, declared that only the first subsidy should be levied, and, with respect to the rest, determined, that they should be reduced to a sum proportionable to the abilities of the people.

THE third session discovered still more dissatisfaction. They resolved, with respect to the subsidies already voted, and to all future assessments, that no estate, real or personal, should be taxed in a sum exceeding

exceeding the tenth part of it's value. This resolution was so very offensive to the King, that by one of those violent stretches of prerogative, by which his government was peculiarly distinguished, he commanded it to be torn from the journals. But they were about to give a convincing proof that they were not to be intimidated.

THE friends of liberty in both countries now resolved, that the demerits of Strafford should no longer escape punishment. Ireland had been a principal scene of his iniquities, here it was determined that the charge against him should originate.

A REMONSTRANCE, setting forth his misconduct in this country, was presented to parliament, which, among other particulars, complained, that under his government, exorbitant duties had been imposed on articles of merchandise, to the great decay of trade and distress of individuals; that in civil matters, arbitrary decisions had been given by him and the council, contrary to the law and Magna Charta; that the subjects were, through his influence, denied the benefit of the graces; that extrajudicial opinions of the council board, had made void letters patent, under the sanction of which, Irish subjects should have held their estates; that he had made a monopoly of tobacco, forced that article from the proprietors at a low price, and sold it at an advanced price, to the ruin of thousands of his Majesty's subjects; that he had been instrumental in erecting a high commission court, despotic in the principles of it's constitution; that, under his direction, the Attorney General had deprived several ancient boroughs, of their right of sending members to parliament; that members of parliament had been abridged of their just privileges.

THIS remonstrance, notwithstanding the opposition of Wandesford, was supported by the parliament, who appointed a committee to go over to England, to conduct the charge against Strafford, in the name, and by the authority of the Irish house of commons. Upon their arrival in London, they united, in the management of this business, with the English commons, by whom a committee had also been chosen, to enquire into the grievances of Ireland.

At this time, Wandesford died; in whose place, the Earl of Leicester was created lord lieutenant of Ireland. As the state of affairs would not admit of his leaving England, Sir John Borlace and Sir William Parsons were appointed lords justices. They had been members of the council during the administration of Strafford, and supported him in all his unconstitutional measures, but they changed with the times and were now of the popular party. Such men were very disagreeable to the King, but his power declined, and he was obliged to submit to the appointment.

Adieu.

L E T T E R VII.

JANUARY the twenty sixth, the Irish parliament again assembled. They entered upon the consideration of national grievances with renewed warmth, and a more determined resolution to exert themselves to obtain redress. In the house of lords, the same subject was taken up, and a number of articles transmitted to England, by certain of their members, whom they authorized to assist the committee of the other house, in their exertions for the public good. Perceiving that the cause of liberty was likely, every day, to receive new support, the

the commons impeached the Chancellor, the Bishop of Derry, Chief Justice Lowther, and Sir George Ratcliffe as abettors of the injuries done under the late administration, to the subject and to the constitution. After this affair had been for some time agitated, the delinquents were admitted to bail, and the prosecution dropped. That of Lord Strafford now commenced, before the English house of lords. Of the articles of his accusation which were numerous, sixteen related to his conduct in Ireland. The principal of them have been mentioned. Some articles of the charge were groundless, but more than sufficient remained to justify the sentence of death which was passed upon him. It was executed. An awful lesson! from which ministers of state, more especially those who are disposed to gratify their pride and ambition at the expence of the liberties of their country, may derive the most wholesome instruction.

THIS striking example of national justice produced, immediately, salutary effects. Those whom Strafford had deprived of their rights were reinstated. The illegal courts were afraid to exercise their jurisdiction, and the judges durst not, in favour of prerogative, determine causes in a manner contrary to law, and the principles of the constitution.

Our parliament had been adjourned to the eleventh of May. It then met. Charles, obliged by the necessity of his affairs, had given orders to the Irish privy council, that his subjects here should enjoy the benefit of all his graces. This was making them to rest, illegally, upon his own prerogative; the parliament entreated his Majesty, that they might be secured by the sanction of the legislature and that, until this was done, they should not be prorogued or dissolved.

A QUESTION

A QUESTION, which had arisen the last session, now engaged the attention of parliament. You recollect that Sir Richard Bolton the chancellor, had, with others, been impeached before the lords. Afraid of the sentence of the peers, should the accusation be prosecuted, he expressed a doubt whether, since the passing of Poynings' Law, they had a power of criminal jurisdiction. This was considered as an attack upon one of the first privileges of parliament, therefore, in the beginning of this session, the lords and commons, in an address to his Majesty, relative to this point, asserted their right of judicature during a period of four hundred and sixty years past, according to the common law and course of parliament in England, and that they ever ought to be, in all criminal cases, the supreme judicatory of the kingdom. Here the matter rested.

It is observed, however, that the commons on this occasion, considered their privilege to be called in question as well as that of the lords. It does not appear that the powers of each house, had been then, as they were afterwards, distinctly ascertained. Carte says, that at this period, the commons attached, assigned damages, restored possessions, stopt suits at common law, and exercised other judicial powers. Examples of this occur so late as the reign of Queen Anne.

A LIST of grievances, formerly transmitted to the King, had, the preceding session, been laid before the judges for their opinion, which, from an apprehension of offending his Majesty, they then declined. 1641. Being pressed to it, they now delivered their sentiments with respect to them. Having, in giving their opinion, paid more regard to their own interest than to the rights of the constitution, the commons were very much displeased. A conference

ference took place betwixt the two houses upon the subject. The result was, a clear and decided determination of the commons, by which, in a variety of points, principally those referred to in the accusation of Lord Strafford, the privileges of the subject were distinctly ascertained, and the late unconstitutional abuses of government severely condemned.

You may remember that eight thousand troops had been raised in Ireland, the preceding year, for the service of his Majesty, but that money could not be got to pay them. In consequence, large arrears were due them. With some difficulty, part of their demand was paid, the rest promised, and the troops were disbanded. The King of Spain wished to employ them in his service; a treaty was opened for that purpose with the Spanish ambassador, and officers sent over to conduct them from the kingdom. But, either from an apprehension, that his Catholic Majesty, in concurrence with Charles, might employ them against the kingdom, or, more probably, for a reason afterwards to be explained, the house of commons interfered, and would not permit their departure.

For some time past, agents from Ireland, who had carried over a remonstrance from parliament to the throne, respecting the grievances of the nation, had been employed in soliciting Charles for a confirmation of the graces. They now returned and among other transmitted bills, brought with them two which were of the greatest importance. One of them was a bill for settling the possession of all estates in the kingdom, which had been enjoyed without interruption, for sixty years. By the other, the King relinquished his title to the lands of Connaught and Clare, and also to large tracts which had been found for him in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary.

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These bills, by securing the property, relieved the minds of thousands from anxiety. The parliament was adjourned until the fourth of November.

Farewell.

L E T T E R VIII.

DURING a period of almost forty years, Ireland had enjoyed a state of uninterrupted tranquillity. The face of the country had improved, the people became more civilized, and the English laws and government extended to every part of the kingdom. But national prosperity is ever precarious, when not supported by a sacred regard to the rights of mankind. Of the numerous facts which confirm this observation, the calamitous event I am about to relate is particularly striking.

THE unjust invasion of Ireland by Henry the Second, with the subsequent injuries to the property and the civil rights of the inhabitants, created in them that strong sense of resentment, which must affect the mind of every human being in the same circumstances. Hence arose those innumerable insurrections of the natives against the English power, which continued, almost without interruption, until the times of James the First. Upon his accession, finding the spirit and the strength of the natives to be entirely subdued by the successful exertions of Elizabeth during the course of Tyrone's war, he obliged them to relinquish their ancient tenures, and reduced every part of the island under the subjection of the English government.

THIS subjection was entirely the effect of necessity; the Irish, in general still lamented secretly, the deprivation of their ancient rights, and longed with anxiety to be restored to them. They would insensibly

sibly have forgotten the privileges they had lost, and have been reconciled to their situation, had the English, in those parts where they had established their laws and their civil polity, treated them kindly. Instead of this they were partial, took every advantage of their weakness, and scourged them with the heavy hand of oppression.

A PARTICULAR cause of discontent arose from the Ulster plantation, and other colonies settled in different parts of the kingdom, by which many of the natives were injured in their property, and great numbers of them entirely expelled from their lands and habitations.

THE government of Lord Strafford was most grievous to them. They were, with unusual severity, forced to submit to various oppressive acts of arbitrary power, and to taxes imposed upon them quite beyond their ability.

To be cheated of the graces by Charles, for the confirmation of which they had paid four hundred thousand pounds, was a circumstance with which they were particularly disgusted.

BUT nothing rendered them more dissatisfied with their situation, than the hardships under which they had laboured with respect to religion, from the reign of Henry the Eighth to the present time. To be obliged to renounce allegiance to the Pope, whose spiritual power they revered, and which even the English themselves had taught them to venerate; to be enjoined by law to relinquish, not only the forms, but the distinguishing doctrines of their religion; to be compelled by penal statutes to worship God, in a manner not agreeable to the dictates of their conscience; to be disqualified from pleading at the bar, or holding any civil office, without taking an oath, to which the feelings of their minds could not submit;

submit; these were severities, which strengthened their alienation from government and cherished their discontents.

INDEED, Charles, from selfish views, did not strictly enforce the penal statutes; in consequence of which, Roman Catholics enjoyed several of their religious privileges, but as this was by connivance and contrary to law, as it was a temporary indulgence, depending upon the will and upon the system of policy adopted by government, than which nothing could be more fluctuating, they derived no security, and of course no real satisfaction from it.

THIS very circumstance produced a new cause of uneasiness; for certain more bigotted Protestants, both in England and in this country, who had warmly opposed the encroachments of Charles on the rights of the constitution, suspicious of his designs in the indulgence with which he treated the Catholics of Ireland, cast out threats against their religion, which were strongly tinged with the principles of persecution. To free themselves from these hardships and from the danger of others, perhaps still more distressing, they were strongly prompted by the circumstances of the times, to rise without delay, in opposition to government.

THE successful insurrection of Scotland which had arisen from motives similar to their own, was an encouraging example. England, being engaged in civil commotions, could give little assistance to government in this country. Strafford was not viceroy of Ireland, whose vigilance would have prevented such a design, or whose vigorous exertions would have speedily suppressed it. Besides, eight thousand men, who, probably by the address of some of the leading Catholics, instead of entering into the service of Spain, for which they were engaged,

gaged, had been detained in Ireland for the occasion, were ready, from principle and inclination to engage in their cause.

Adieu.

L E T T E R IX.

FROM the causes and the favourable circumstances mentioned in my last letter, a scheme was formed, by some of the principal natives, of a general insurrection.

ROGER O'Moor, the head of a distinguished family which had greatly suffered by the injustice of the English, took an active part on the present occasion. He was well qualified for the business. Besides a handsome person, his manners were courteous, polished and insinuating. To the advantages he received from a genteel education, he added good sense and an unblemished character. Deeply affected by the injuries of his family and his country, he exerted his popular talents, and used every means to enflame the public discontents. He engaged in this design Colonel Plunket, younger son of Sir Christopher Plunket, as one of his confidential associates. Plunket was vain, well allied, warmly attached to his religion, and in depressed circumstances. Needy likewise, and of similar dispositions, was another of his associates, Connor Macguire Baron of Enniskillen. To these we may add Macmahon, Philip Reily, Tirlough, and his brother Sir Phelim O'Neal of Kinnard, a man of violent passions, of profligate manners, of mean parts and little education. The officers who came to conduct the troops to Spain likewise engaged in the same cause. To procure friends, strenuous efforts were used at home and upon the continent.

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THE fifth of October, when the intercourse with England would be interrupted by the season, and when the tenants would have collected the rents, which the conspirators resolved to apply to their own use, was the time fixed for the execution of their scheme. The day came, but they were unprepared. The design was then deferred until the twenty third of October, when the castle of Dublin was to be seized and the insurrection to be universal.

As the affair had been a considerable time in agitation, and a number of persons concerned, suspicions had arisen with respect to it. So early as March, Secretary Vane, by order of the King, wrote to the Lords Justices, that he had received such advice from his Majesty's ministers at foreign courts, concerning a rebellion suspected to take place in Ireland, as made it necessary for them to be very circumspect, in order, if it was really in agitation, to prevent such a design. Early in October, Sir William Cole of Enniskillen acquainted them with some circumstances, which raised his apprehensions concerning the safety of government. A few days after, he wrote to them a second letter, which contained certain information, in respect to the intended insurrection. But the letter miscarried. Happily however for the people of Dublin, the plot was divulged, when on the point of being executed.

ON the evening of the twenty second of October, a number of the conspirators assembled in Dublin. One of the principal of them, Macmahon, disclosed the secret to Owen O'Connolly a Protestant, in hopes that he would assist in executing the design. O'Connolly was shocked, made his escape with difficulty, and communicated to Sir James Parsons the alarming intelligence. Guards were immediately placed on the
city

city and castle. Search was made for the conspirators. Lord Maguire, Macmahon, and about thirty of the lower fort were seized, but O'Moore and the rest of the principals, probably through the assistance of friends in Duhlin who favoured the design, escaped. Macmahon made a full confession of the plot, in which he boasted with exultation. Sir Francis Willoughby a gallant soldier, was made governor of the Castle, which was furnished with arms for ten thousand men, but eighteen warders and forty halberdiers composed the whole of the garrison. The military force of the kingdom, in consequence of the late reduction, was very inconsiderable; it was therefore more necessary, that individuals should be warned of their danger, in order to use the best means in their power of protecting themselves. For this purpose, a proclamation was published on the twenty third of October, and renewed the following day. Soon after another proclamation was published, by which strangers, and all suspected persons, were commanded to depart from the town.

Farewell.

L E T T E R X.

BESIDES issuing proclamations, the Justices sent expresses with commissions to the Protestants of note in the different parts of the kingdom, empowering them to arm, to prosecute the insurgents with fire and sword, and to receive such of them as submitted to his Majesty's grace and mercy. They likewise dispatched commissions, conveying the same powers, to the principal gentlemen of the pale. Information of the imminent danger to which the kingdom was exposed, was also conveyed to his Majesty
and

and to the parliament of England, entreating immediate assistance.

THOUGH every exertion was used to put the Castle in a state of defence, and two hundred soldiers arrived in Dublin for its protection, with a number of Protestants from the country, who fled to it for safety, and were formed into a regiment, nothing could equal the terror and miserable anxiety of the citizens. Their imagination was on the rack. They were filled with alarms which increased every hour, which anticipated the approach of the enemy, magnified their numbers, their cruelty, and every circumstance which could heighten in the mind a dread of the impending danger.

To remove suspicions entertained of them, several Roman Catholic lords of the pale applied to government for arms. Five hundred were given to Lord Gormanstown, and twelve hundred were distributed among the other Catholics of the different counties of Leinster. From this it would seem, that they were not suspected; it does not appear that there could be spared to them a larger portion of arms; but they were dissatisfied. They were, also, much offended by the proclamation, for setting forth "that a detestable conspiracy had been formed by some evil affected Irish Papists." To satisfy them, it was explained in such a manner, as to shew that they were not comprehended in it.

MEAN while, the insurgents proceeded elsewhere with the execution of their design. In a few days they were almost entirely possessed of the counties of Derry, Donegal, Cavan, Fermanagh, Leitrim, Longford, Monaghan and Tyrone. They even made some progress in the counties of Downe and Armagh.

EVERY method was used to excite the passions and encourage the multitudes who had joined in the insurrection.

insurrection. Even commissions were forged, first one in the name of the King, and then a second in the name of the parliament, approving of the design and encouraging to the support of it. Government immediately published a proclamation, to prevent persons from being deluded by this imposition. This appeared on the thirtieth of October. The following day another proclamation was published, by which all the insurgents of Meath, Westmeath, Louth and Longford, not freeholders or in prison, who had not killed any of his Majesty's subjects, and would surrender in ten days, were promised pardon. This proclamation would have been humane and of singular use, had it not been so improperly restricted. Why did it not extend to all the counties in arms? Many persons might have been confined whose offences were venial. Would not the exception in prejudice of freeholders, who were excluded, plainly from the rapacious motives of encreasing forfeitures, render them more violent, being thus deprived of all hopes of pardon?

As the Protestants were taken by surprise, they had no opportunity of concerting measures for their mutual defence. Each man separately endeavoured to protect himself, in consequence of which the Irish met with a very feeble resistance. But when their fears subsided, they united in several places, under the command of the gentlemen who had received commissions, and had been speedily supplied with arms by government, and used vigorous efforts for their preservation. Enniskillen, Carrickfergus and several other places withstood the attacks of the Irish. But Sir Phelim O'Nial, by whom they were commanded in the North, determined to persevere. He had made an unsuccessful attack upon Lisburn. A detachment of four thousand men attempted a

second time to take it, but the townsmen having been reinforced, repulsed them with considerable slaughter. Enraged by this defeat, the insurgents, gave themselves up without restraint, to the impulse of sanguinary passions. To put numbers of defenceless Protestants to death in cold blood, to rob others of their property, to drive them in a Winter season, from their habitations to the open fields, where they were exposed to perish, by the accumulated evils of cold, nakedness and famine, were shocking acts of cruelty. Nature shrinks from the dreadful scene; to dwell upon it would be no less painful than inconsistent with the limits I have prescribed to myself in this undertaking. It is reproachful to Protestants that, stimulated by revenge, they, in some instances, imitated the odious example set before them, on this occasion by the Irish. In particular, the garrison of Carrickfergus attacked by surprise the natives of Island Magee, engaged in no hostile acts, thirty families of whom they slaughtered.

Farewell.

L E T T E R . XI.

THE English parliament received intelligence of the insurrection, on the twenty fifth of October. The forged commission fixed on his Majesty a suspicion of being concerned in it, upon which, in vindication of his character, he was obliged to say that "he committed to them the care of Ireland." In consequence of which, they voted twenty thousand pounds for the service of this country; resolved that men should be raised, and placed under the command of proper officers; that ships should be stationed to guard the coasts; that provisions and magazines of arms and amunition should be transported,

ported, for the assistance and protection of Ireland. Besides these, and with the same view, they passed other votes upon the occasion. In reward of his service, they gave five hundred pounds and a pension of two hundred pounds a year, to Owen Connoly, who had discovered the insurrection.

AN account of these proceedings and of other friendly intentions, with respect to this kingdom, was transmitted to the lords justices, in the name of the lords and commons of England. They required this encouragement, for the number of the insurgents increased. In particular, a number of Irish septs in Leinster, rose upon the Protestants, deprived them of their houses and property, and extended their depredations to the vicinity of the capital.

THE Irish parliament had been prorogued to the seventeenth of November, from which it was again prorogued to the twenty fourth of February. The second prorogation was very disagreeable to the Catholics and some of the principal loyalists, who pleaded that if the parliament were permitted to meet, the graces would probably receive the sanction of it's authority, which would have considerable influence, in conciliating to government the minds of the insurgents, besides that supplies would be voted, which were greatly wanted in the present state of affairs. But the justices said that to dispense with the prorogation, would be a measure unprecedented and unbecoming the dignity of government. Their reasons for the prorogation were, that the meeting of parliament would bring a concourse of people to Dublin, which might endanger the public safety, and that a number of Protestant members would be prevented by the insurgents from attending, in consequence of which, the Roman Catholic members would constitute a majority. With difficulty they

consented that the parliament should assemble upon the day to which they had been first prorogued. Such members as could be collected met. Different opinions were urged, but as the majority were Protestants, they declared by a public instrument, their abhorrence of the insurrection, their resolution to maintain his Majesty's government, and to prosecute with war, all such as against a certain day, would not lay down their arms and sue for mercy. Commissioners were appointed to treat with the insurgents, and government authorized to raise money and forces for the public security. Two days were necessary for transacting this business; after which, in place of the former appointment, the parliament was prorogued to the eleventh of January.

THEIR commissioners proceeded to O'Moore, who lay near Dundalk with a considerable army, to treat with him of peace. Instead of listening to an accommodation, he took every method to unite and to animate his followers to war. With this view, and to engage the more moderate in his cause, he formed an oath of association, which he dispersed in order to be signed, the purport of which was, that the Catholics had taken up arms, solely in defence of their religion, of his Majesty's rights and the liberty of the subject. His exertions were rendered much more successful by the intemperance of the English parliament. Bigots in religion, though friends to civil liberty, they passed at this time an order, for tendering the oath of supremacy, to all students from Ireland, in the inns of court and chancery of London, for expelling such as refused and for not admitting in future, those who would not take it. There was no seminary in this country, for educating young men for the law, which made this a severe stroke to the Irish. The commons of England
also

also passed a vote, in which they were joined by the lords, that no toleration of the Roman Catholic religion should be permitted in Ireland. A more effectual method, to strengthen the cause of the insurgents, could not possibly be taken, than this proceeding, which was not more hostile to the benevolent spirit of the Gospel and to the principles of the reformation, than to the rights of the Irish constitution.

As the Lords Justices were in the interest of the English parliament, their government was offensive to the loyalists. They determined to have them removed, if possible. In order to this, they appointed Lord Dillon to communicate their desires to Charles. In company with Lord Taaffe, who was commissioned by the nobility of the pale for the same purpose, and to support their interest in all other respects with the King, he set off for England. But they were seized by the way, carried to London, and committed to prison by the parliament. They escaped from confinement, and fled to the King, with whom they continued in the capacity of Irish commissioners.

Adieu.

L E T T E R XII.

YOU have seen the resolutions of the English commons, with respect to the relief of Ireland. They had sent over some money and provisions in November. This was all the assistance yet received from them.

IN consequence of repeated intelligence, that the strength of the insurgents daily increased, and the situation of Protestants became more critical, they resolved that magazines of provisions should be estab-

blished at Westchester, for the use of Ireland, and that twenty thousand pounds, six thousand horse and two thousand foot should be raised for the same purpose. But, to enable his Majesty to raise the men expeditiously, an act was necessary to authorise him to press them into the service. The preamble to the bill displeased him, and he refused for some time, to pass it. He desired to appoint the officers who were to command the levies for Ireland, but to this, as it would give him a power over them, which the commons considered as dangerous, they would not consent. These and other differences, which arose betwixt the King and parliament of England, occasioned by their mutual jealousies, retarded the relief of this country. At last, ten thousand Scots were taken into pay, to be employed in the service of Ireland. They were to be subject to their own commissioners, to be independent of Irish government, and to be answerable for their conduct, only to the King and parliament.

WHILST these matters were adjusting in England, the insurgents collected a considerable force, under the command of Sir Phelim O'Nial, and prepared to besiege Drogheda. Upon receiving intelligence of this design, six hundred foot and fifty horse, were detached from Dublin to reinforce the town. But they were attacked on their march and defeated at Julianstownbridge.

By the end of November, the enemy sat down before Drogheda, which was neither strong in itself, nor well supplied with provisions, nor provided with a sufficient garrison. It was placed under the command of Sir Henry Tichbourne, an active and gallant officer, who was determined to use every possible means for it's preservation. The Irish, who, though very numerous, were, from their situation,
unable,

unable to surround the town by a regular encampment, could not with their utmost vigilance, prevent some supplies from getting into it. These being soon consumed, the citizens and garrison were reduced to great distress. Another supply and the arrival of four hundred men, helped to dispel their fears and to animate their courage. Sir Phelim made several attacks, but was repulsed. The garrison inspired by the example of their governor, was determined to endure every extremity, rather than surrender a place of so much importance.

THE siege had now lasted near three months. About the end of December, a reinforcement of English troops, consisting of fourteen hundred men, had arrived in Dublin, but as that city was then almost quite surrounded by the insurgents, none of them could be spared to the assistance of Drogheda. But, about the end of February, government having received an additional supply of fifteen hundred foot and four hundred horse, resolved to make a diversion in favour of it. For this purpose, the Earl of Ormond, lieutenant general of the army, and a great favourite with the loyalists, was ordered to march towards the Boyne, at the head of three thousand foot and five hundred horse. His instructions were to prosecute the Irish with great severity. The moment O'Nial received this intelligence, he raised the siege, and marched to the North. Ormond, being limited in time by the express orders of the lords justices, returned to Dublin in eight days, having left a detachment under Sir Henry Tichbourne, who marched in pursuit of the enemy, made himself master of Dundalk, and in a few days reduced the whole county of Louth to obedience.

Farewell.

L E T-

LETTER XIII.

DURING these transactions, a revolution had happened, which rendered the insurrection much more formidable to government.

THAT those who were originally concerned in it, did, in the beginning, communicate their design to the principal Roman Catholics of the pale, and that they were interested in it's success, cannot be doubted. But, they declined taking an active part in the business, as they were more immediately under the eye of government, and enjoyed considerable grants from the crown, which they did not wish to risque upon an uncertainty. But a summons they had received, to attend their duty in the council, which alarmed their apprehensions, the address of some of the principal insurgents, the defeat of the Protestants at Julianstownbridge, and other circumstances, which opened to their cause a flattering prospect, determined them to take up arms in support of it. In consequence of this resolution, in the beginning of December, Lord Gormanstown, seven other lords and a thousand gentlemen met on the hill of Cresty, where, according to previous agreement, Roger O'Moore and a detachment of his forces appeared. The latter were asked why they had come within the limits of the pale? O'Moore answered, to maintain the King's prerogative and the liberties of Ireland; the other party, as if immediately persuaded by these reasons, that their motives were laudable, joined them without farther ceremony.

THE lords of the pale were now summoned, a second time, to attend the council. But they declined, alledging in excuse, that they were suspected by government, and were apprehensive of danger, from
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some threatening expressions of Sir Charles Coote, whose cruelty, as an officer, to the Irish, upon some late occasions, had rendered him particularly obnoxious. Government assured them, by a proclamation, that the expressions imputed to Sir Charles were groundless. But they had proceeded too far to recede. Several skirmishes having happened betwixt the King's troops and the Irish of the pale, helped to confirm their resolution. At a general meeting on the hill of Tarah, they settled finally their schemes and plan of operations. Lord Gormanstown was elected commander in chief, Hugh Birne lieutenant general, and the Earl of Fingal general of the horse. In their respective districts, these officers were to raise a certain number of soldiers, who, with such as should come to their assistance, were to be supported by a general contribution, to be levied off the lands in regular proportions. Several joined them with arms they had received, and companies they had raised for the service of government.

To justify their conduct to the King, they informed him, that they had united with the insurgents of the North, in defence of his prerogative, and to protect their civil and religious liberties, which had been violated, by those to whom he had committed the direction of his affairs. They entreated his Majesty to grant them a free parliament, for the redress of their grievances, and, in the mean time, to command a cessation of arms. They likewise published a manifesto, expressive of their principles, and the reasons which had induced them to commence hostilities.

To counteract these measures of the Catholics of the pale, by convincing the public of his Majesty's sentiments with respect to the insurrection, the Justices

ffices sent over to England forty copies of a proclamation, as we are assured by Cox, in which, those concerned in it are declared to be rebels against the King, and enemies to the crown of both England and Ireland. They were signed and transmitted by Charles. But the Irish were now too confident of success, to be intimidated by hostile epithets, or the threatening terms of a proclamation. The rising of the pale, was in itself a considerable addition to their cause, and had, upon the minds of others not hitherto concerned in it, a most extensive influence. Particularly, in consequence of the principles they avowed, which were perfectly agreeable to the more moderate Roman Catholics, and by keeping themselves separate from the Northern insurgents, whose excesses were odious to all not destitute of the feelings of humanity, their example had a powerful effect.

CONNAUGHT caught the infection. Even Galway could with difficulty be kept quiet, by the presence and vigorous exertions of its governor, Lord Clanricarde. In Munster, Saint Ledger, the president, saw the spirit likely to rise. He had nothing conciliating in his nature. His harsh severities increased it. Numbers of Irish took up arms in that province. Nothing at present could have preserved it to government, but a difference which broke out betwixt two leaders of the insurgents, Viscount Roche and Lord Mountgarret.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XIV.

WHEN Ormond set out for the relief of Drogheda, among other orders which he received, he was commanded by the Lords Justices,
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not only to destroy the houses and the property of the insurgents, but that he should kill all the men inhabiting their quarters, capable of bearing arms. With respect to those who should surrender, he was enjoined to have them seized by the soldiers, to exclude them from his presence, and transmit them prisoners to Dublin. In this manner, those who did surrender, were actually treated, and they were pretty numerous, in consequence of his Majesty's offered pardon, published in a proclamation which had just arrived from England. So many insurgents and persons suspected of being concerned in the plot, had been taken, from the beginning, that the jails were filled with prisoners. The fate of these unhappy wretches was not long in suspense. Bills against hundreds of them were found by the grand juries in a few days. It was with difficulty that petty juries, from the respective counties, could be procured. Many of them were brought to a regular trial, condemned and executed. Numbers suffered by martial law.

BESIDES Macmahon, one of the original conspirators, Sir John Read and Mr. Patrick Barnwell were put to the rack, in hopes of procuring from them, some important information with respect to the designs of the insurgents. This invention of human cruelty, reprobated by nature and the laws of our country, was applied in vain. They had no discoveries to make. With respect to Read and Barnwell themselves, they were not guilty of a crime.

To justify such acts of inhumanity, and obtain information to government, a commission had been issued to the Dean of Kilmore and others, by which they were required to examine witnesses, and take other necessary steps, in order to ascertain the losses
of

of life or property sustained by the Protestants, since the beginning of the insurrection.

THE commission was not closed until July. We may here observe, that the examinations taken upon this occasion amount to upwards of thirty volumes. They were deposited in Dublin College and are still extant. Had they been consulted with care and impartiality, had a just distinction been made, betwixt the evidence of witnesses who swear to matters of fact, and that of those who declare matters of mere opinion and report; had proper allowance been made for wilful misrepresentations and for the errors, especially in such an affair, which naturally arise from deep rooted prejudices, from fear, from strong resentment and a heated imagination; had it been considered, that at the time of the principal outrages, the Scots were, from political motives, entirely spared by the insurgents; that the North of Ireland, the chief scene of the massacre, was then, through the want of cultivation, very thinly inhabited, that many of the Protestants fled into walled towns, where they were protected from the enemy, and that others of them escaped from the kingdom; had these circumstances been deliberately weighed, it must have appeared, that the numbers supposed to have been destroyed by the Irish, in the beginning of the insurrection, quite exceeded the bounds of credibility. Many authors have contributed to deceive the public in respect to this affair. But of all who have written on the subject, the accounts of Sir John Temple are the most partial, the most exaggerated and the most absurd. On reflection, he was not himself pleased with the performance, for he would not suffer it to pass through a second edition.

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THE consequence of magnifying and painting in strong colours the circumstances of this unhappy affair, has been, to alienate the affections of Protestants from their Roman Catholic brethren. In consequence of this, deep impressions to the disadvantage, not merely of the guilty, to which they should have been entirely confined, but of the whole sect, have been transmitted from generation to generation. To stigmatize indiscriminately, as too many have done, the natives of Ireland, for the crimes of individuals, in which they did not participate, which they did not approve, nay which many of them laboured to prevent, is an act of great injustice to men, who have ever been distinguished for warm hearts and benevolent affections.

FOR the sake of government whose accumulated injuries were the cause ; for the honor of human nature ; for the sake of those sweet propensities of the heart, which should bind by the ties of mutual good will, fellow citizens and fellow subjects, though distinguished by different religious opinions, the massacre of sixteen hundred and forty one should be buried in everlasting oblivion.

Farewell.

L E T T E R X V .

TO reduce the insurgents in the county of Kildare, the Earl of Ormond had been detached with three thousand foot and five hundred horse. When he was advanced near to Kilrush, he came up with a body of the enemy, much superior in number, commanded by Lord Mountgarret. He led on his men to the attack. They charged with such spirit that the Irish were defeated, with the loss of seven hundred

hundred men, among whom were several persons of distinction. This was a severe stroke to the insurgents; but there passed, about this time, a resolution in the English house of commons, which had a tendency to serve their cause, much more effectually than it was injured by the battle of Kilrush. To raise money for the service of Ireland, a very difficult matter, they passed a vote, which was enacted into a law, for giving lands in Ireland which should be confiscated, in certain proportions, upon very advantageous terms, to those who would contribute towards defraying the expences of the war. The proprietors of land, now very numerous in every part of the kingdom, who were engaged in the insurrection, must have been animated by this shameful repetition, of the most oppressive of the grievances which occasioned it, to exert themselves, in opposition to government, with redoubled zeal. They now saw, that if they did not succeed, they would not only be denied the exercise of their religion, but expelled from their possessions, and be reduced to the distressing alternative, either of sinking into indigence, perhaps perishing for want, or of seeking more comfortable habitations, and means of support in a foreign country.

As the interest of the clergy was deeply involved in the event of the insurrection, they used all their influence in support of it. Some time before, 1642. they held a meeting at Kells, relative to public affairs. In May, a general synod assembled at Kilkenny. On both occasions, they declared the war to be just, and that it was engaged in for the defence of their religion, and the King's prerogative. They ordered an exact account to be kept in each province, of the acts of violence committed by the Protestants.

Protestants, and passed excommunications upon such of their own people as should be guilty of murder.

SHORTLY after the return of Ormond from Kildare, Lord Lisle, son of the Lord Lieutenant, arrived from England with nine hundred men. These having marched into Leinster, to oppose the Irish in that quarter, drove them from Trim, of which they took possession. The enemy attacked the town, at night, but were repulsed. They fled; Sir Charles Coote, at the head of the English forces, pursued, to improve the advantage, but was killed in the attempt. He was brave, but cruel, which has left a stain upon his memory.

AN instance of magnanimity, exhibited about this time, by the Lady Offaly, widow of Sir Robert Digby, for her own credit, and the honor of her sex, merits particular notice. The Irish, by letter, commanded her to surrender her castle. To which she replied, with the spirit of an heroine, "I have been a loyal subject, and always behaved to you as a good neighbour. Therefore, being free from offence both to you and my king, I will, to the utmost of my power, die as I have lived, innocently; I wish you to avoid the shedding of blood, a crime with which I have never been chargeable, at the same time, I am not the least intimidated by your threats." In consequence of this refusal, she was besieged, but defended her castle with resolution until she was relieved by government.

THE Irish leaders of Munster, having composed their disagreement, and being joined by Lord Muskerry, pressed hard upon Saint Ledger the president, who was encompassed by difficulties. He received from England a reinforcement of a thousand men. Even with these, he was unable to keep the field. Distressed by the want of money and provisions, and
by

by the superior numbers of the enemy, he was compelled to shut himself up in the city of Cork. Having died shortly after, the command of the province devolved upon Lord Inchiquin, as vice president. Ten thousand pounds were sent to him from England, and Lord Forbes arrived to his assistance with twelve hundred men. But Forbes being in the service of parliament, whilst Inchiquin was attached to the royal cause, they did not co-operate. The former, shortly after, left the province. Inchiquin, having now nothing to depend upon for safety, but a vigorous effort, with the assistance of the Earl of Cork and other lords, he collected two thousand men, with which he attacked the Irish near to the castle of Lifcarrol. Victory decided in his favour, though the enemy consisted of seven thousand foot and five hundred horse. But, he was unable to pursue this success. From the want of provisions and other necessities, he was obliged to disband his soldiers, and disperse them through the different garrisons.

THE insurrection had extended to several counties of the province of Connaught. Lord Clanricarde, by his efforts had preserved the peace of the
1642. county of Galway, as has been mentioned, but notwithstanding all his endeavours, it was now interrupted. The natives of the town of Galway, being joined by other insurgents, made an attack upon the fort, which was commanded by Captain Willoughby, an officer in the interest of the parliament. Clanricarde gave it every succour which his situation would permit, but finding it necessary, he agreed upon a cessation with the enemy. The Lords Justices, jealous of his designs, as a friend to Charles, censured him for this measure, were displeased with the submissions he had received, and enjoined him not to admit any of the insurgents to pardon in future,

ture. Perpetual disputes arose between the inhabitants of the town and Willoughby, which often ended in hostilities. The arrival, from Munster, of Lord Forbes to his assistance, instead of diminishing, increased these dissensions. Forbes was violent. Instead of conciliating, he provoked, by his severity, the resentment of the natives. His first action, after landing, excited their detestation. He took possession of a Popish church, an ancient burial place, defaced it, dug up the graves, and burned the bones and coffins of the dead. The powers with which he was invested, by the English parliament, interfered with those of Lord Clanricarde, as governor of the county. Hence arose a new cause of difference.

FROM Christmas, Sir James Dillon had lain with a considerable body of insurgents, before Athlone, which continued to be distressed until the middle of June, when the siege was raised, upon the approach of Ormond with five thousand men. To assist Lord Ranelagh, president of Connaught, in maintaining his ground against the insurgents, Ormond left with him a reinforcement of two thousand foot and two troops of horse, reduced Ballymore, Mullingar, with several other places, and then returned to Dublin.

IN July, Sir James Dillon made a second attack upon Athlone, but was repulsed, and afterwards defeated, in an engagement with the English.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XVI.

THE Irish parliament had met on the twenty first of June. Having expelled such of their members as were actually in arms, the commons voted, that the oath of supremacy should be ten-

dered to all their members, and framed a bill for that purpose, which, with other penal bills, was transmitted to England. To expedite their return, both houses joined in a declaration, addressed to the King and parliament of England, praying, that proper steps might be taken, for putting into execution, the penal statutes against Roman Catholics, in every part of Ireland, especially in the city of Dublin. Gentleness towards these unhappy people, seems to have been banished from the breasts of the legislators of both countries, and the harsh feelings of severity substituted in their place. The parliament, having sat three days, adjourned for a few weeks.

By a proclamation of the nineteenth of August, the lords justices and council repealed, indiscriminately, all protections hitherto granted to the insurgents:

LET us now take a view of the affairs of the North. About the middle of April, two thousand five hundred Scots, part of the ten thousand which had been engaged for the service, landed at Carrickfergus, under the command of Robert Munroe. Being joined by a detachment of foot and horse, they marched to Newry, which, with the castle of Carlingford and Armagh, they took from the insurgents. Upon their approach, O'Nial retreated from Armagh to Charlemont, having, before his departure, committed some shameful acts of inhumanity. From feelings equally odious, Munroe, it is said, put near eighty people to death at Newry. Having left a garrison in that town, the Scotch general returned to Carrickfergus, from whence he laid waste the neighbouring districts. They were so rapacious, that the commissioners for Irish affairs were obliged, at the desire of the lords justices, to stop their depredations.

depredations. In the month of August, the Earl of Leven arrived from Scotland, with the remainder of the ten thousand men. At the head of these and the other forces of Ulster, which altogether made up a formidable army, he advanced into the country. Having done nothing of consequence, he gave the command of the troops to Munroe, and returned to Scotland. The exertions of Munroe were equally undistinguished. He distributed the soldiers into quarters, where they were reduced to great difficulties, by the want of pay and provisions. The King, with much reluctance, had permitted the Scots to come over to Ireland. Being of the same principles with the parliament, as he foresaw, they watched his forces with a jealous eye, counteracted their designs and restrained their operations, considering them justly as hostile to the constitution. On the other hand, the King's friends considered them, and all possessed of the same principles, with as unfavourable sentiments, and were equally disposed to reflect upon their conduct, and to thwart their intentions. The loyalists, the parliamentarians and insurgents, had each of them different feelings, and different objects of pursuit. This interference multiplied the confusions, and lengthened the distractions of the nation.

SIR Phelim, after his retreat from Armagh, recruited his forces, which had been considerably reduced, and took the field. An engagement ensued, betwixt him and a body of troops, commanded by Sir Robert and Sir William Stewart, who defeated him, with considerable loss. Discouraged by this misfortune, and by the unpromising aspect of their affairs, his followers were on the point of deserting him, when his hopes were unexpectedly raised, by the arrival, from the continent,

of his cousin Owen Roe O'Nial, with arms, ammunition, a hundred officers, and an assurance of more effectual aid.

OWEN had been much abroad, where, in a military command, he had acquired the knowledge and the habits of an accomplished foldier. He was cool, prudent, and remarkably expert in taking advantage of those critical circumstances, on which success in war so much depends. These qualifications were accompanied by strict temperance and humanity, virtues, which appeared in him, to still greater advantage, when contrasted with the opposite vices, which so remarkably dishonoured the character of his kinsman, Sir Phelim. The feelings which prompted his countrymen to rise in opposition to government, had taken deep possession of his heart. From the beginning, he entered into their design, with a determined purpose, to support it, by every exertion in his power. He used all his influence with Cardinal Richlieu, and wherever he had a prospect of obtaining assistance of men, of money and other necessaries. Being a principal of the sept of O'Nial, and thus distinguished by his character, his consequence and his zeal for the Catholic cause, upon his arrival in the North, numbers of the Irish flocked to him, by whose unanimous voice, he was chosen general. He exerted himself, with vigor, in disciplining and recruiting his troops, which, shortly after, were strengthened by a reinforcement from the continent, under the command of Colonel Preston, brother to Lord Gormanstown. This was followed by an additional supply of officers, arms and ammunition.

Adieu.

L E T.

LETTER XVII.

TO give dignity to their cause, and from a principle of union and of order, the Catholics resolved to frame a political system, by which their operations should be, in future, regulated. With this view, a convention of representatives, from the whole body, met at Kilkenny, in the month of October. They disavowed the title of parliament, but, like it, divided themselves into two houses, one consisting of lords temporal and spiritual, the other, of deputies from counties and cities. Several ordinances were agreed upon by this assembly: in particular, they resolved; that the Roman Catholics of Ireland, should enjoy all the privileges of Magna Charta; that the common law of England, and all statutes, not inconsistent with the freedom of religion and the liberty of the subject, should be in force; that allegiance was due to the King, that his prerogative should be supported; that the laws should be executed, as well as the circumstances of war would permit; that a judicial council of twelve, with a power of electing officers, should be appointed in each county; that from them, should lie an appeal, to a provincial council of twenty four, chosen by the general convention, whose jurisdiction, with respect to matters, civil and military, was to be subject to a supreme council, twelve of whom, were always to reside in Kilkenny, or some other place appointed. They resolved, that all who possessed lands, or hereditaments, three years before the commencement of the war, should be permitted quietly to enjoy them. Commanders in chief were likewise appointed. Owen Roe O'Nial for Ulster; Colonel Preston for Leinster, Colonel Barry for Munster, and

Colonel Bourke, as lieutenant general, for Connaught These were invested with a power of enlisting soldiers, and taking such steps, as were necessary for establishing a military force.

AN oath of association was likewise framed, to be taken by all of their party, in the several parishes of the kingdom. The obligation of it was, to bear true allegiance to the King and his successors; to defend his just rights; to maintain the privileges of the parliament of Ireland, and the fundamental laws of the nation; to support the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and the lives, liberties and properties, of all who should enter into the engagement and observe it; to obey the orders of the supreme council; not to ask, or receive, pardon or protection from any, without the consent of a majority of it, nor do any act, to the prejudice of the cause, but, with the hazard of life and estate, to assist, prosecute and maintain the same.

THEY also framed a petition, to his Majesty, expressive of their allegiance, in which they complain of their grievances, civil and religious, represent the partiality with which they had been treated, by their enemies, entreat a free parliament, and that, in the mean time, he would command a cessation of arms, to prevent the farther calamities of war, and give an opportunity for adjusting the matters in dispute. To induce the King to comply with their desires, they express a willingness, to furnish him with ten thousand men, to be employed in defence of his prerogative.

THE convention hoped, that Lord Clanricarde would have joined them. As he would have been a great acquisition to their cause, they had not appointed a general for Connaught, flattering themselves with the expectation, that he would be prevailed

ailed with, to command their troops in that province; but he absolutely refused. However, the Earl of Castlehaven, being offended at government, declared in their favour. They admitted him into the supreme council and made him general of the horse, under Preston.

MEAN while, the disagreement betwixt the King and the English parliament, every day encreased. Charles had proposed to come over to Ireland, and march in person, against those who had disturbed his government. Clarendon alledges, that he had not, in reality, any such intention. Be this as it may, the parliament absolutely refused their consent, not doubting, but that his design was, not to suppress the insurgents, but to unite this kingdom, in support of his hostile designs, against the liberties of England. The quarrel became so violent, that each side began to make preparations for war.

FROM the beginning, the parliament had endeavoured to support their interest in this kingdom. As this now became more necessary than ever, they sent over to Ireland, Reynolds and Goodwin, two of their members, in the capacity of agents, with a view to encourage their friends, and lessen the partizans of Charles, by representing in a proper light, his past conduct, and the still more violent measures, by which he intended to destroy the rights of the constitution. They brought with them a supply of twenty thousand pounds. To counteract this measure, the King lessened the dependence of Ormond, on the Lord Lieutenant, who was in the opposite interest, enlarged his powers, and, as an additional mark of regard, for the zeal with which he had supported his cause, created him a marquiss.

THE Irish parliament had met the beginning of August. Impatient of the return of their bills,
which

which had not yet arrived, the commons passed a bill, in order to suspend a part of Poynings' Law, with a view to the enacting of laws, relating to Popery, and attainting the insurgents. Upon being sent up to the lords, they desired a conference with the commons, upon this question, whether a proviso in the bill, with respect to the English act, relative to the disposal of lands in Ireland, to adventurers, did not admit of a power in the English parliament, to bind Ireland by her laws?

THE Peers behaved with a laudable spirit upon the occasion; they expressed their dissatisfaction, at what the British parliament had already done, inimical to the privileges of our legislature, and their jealousy of farther encroachments. An apprehension of injuries to the constitution, at this time, pressed upon the minds of the people in general, who justly thought, that they would cease to be free, whenever another kingdom interfered with the independent rights of their parliament, by attempting to impose laws upon them, without their consent.

Farewell.

LETTER XVIII.

THE affairs of the insurgents, subsequent to the convention at Kilkenny, assumed a very favourable aspect. For although, at Ballynakill, their troops under Preston were repulsed by Colonel Monk, yet Preston, who lost few men in the engagement, recruited his forces, and took several forts from the English. Lord Castlehaven, his general of the horse, made considerable progress in Leinster. Even Drogheda and other garrisons, were likely to be given up to him, through the want of provisions.

provisions. All Connaught was reduced by the Irish, some inconsiderable towns excepted. The large body of forces, under Munroe, being destitute of pay and other necessities were able to do nothing, effectual, in the North. It was with much difficulty, that Lord Inchiquin kept his ground in Munster. In one instance, he was very unfortunate. A detachment of his troops was routed in the county of Waterford. Six hundred of his men were slain, and Sir Charles Vavasor who commanded them, with several officers, were made prisoners. A victory gained by the Earl of Ormond over a body of the enemy's forces, under General Preston, was far from being an equivalent to these disadvantages. The difficulties which pressed the English army, particularly from the want of pay, were very great. Major. Woodhouse was sent by them, to lay the hardships under which they laboured, on this account, before the King and parliament, but to no purpose. The officers then prayed relief, from the Irish parliament, which met in April, sixteen hundred and forty three. There being no means of granting their petition, government interposed, and, to prevent farther importunity, prorogued the parliament. Dissatisfied with the slender supplies, which they had received from England, and to extricate themselves from these perplexities, the lords justices transmitted an act of state to the British parliament, in which they complain, that it was to their neglect, who had undertaken the management of the war, the present distresses of the Irish government were to be ascribed. Instead of assistance, a reprimand was the answer returned. The justices repeated the charge; pointed out the frequent applications they had made for relief, and the little
regard

regard with which they had been treated. To this there was no reply.

THE difficulties of the English parliament themselves, were certainly very great, but it was impossible for them to make a sufficient apology, with respect to this matter. The act of adventurers, the money arising from which, was, by positive engagement, solely to be employed in the Irish war, had produced a subscription of two millions and a half. Of this, an inconsiderable portion had been sent to the relief of Ireland.

NOTWITHSTANDING their success, the more moderate and sensible of the Irish, perceived, that a pacification with the King, would be very conducive to their interest. They saw, that however flattering the King's prospects were at present, the event was uncertain, and that if he were subdued, the parliament would be enabled, to send over a sufficient body of forces, to overpower them. They likewise saw, that all their troops would not be more than sufficient, to oppose the Scots of Ulster, from whom they could have no terms, and whose numbers were daily encreasing, by new emigrations of their countrymen to Ireland.

CHARLES, who expected considerable advantages from it, was equally, if not more desirous of a peace. Therefore, overtures having been made to him, by the Irish, he commissioned the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Clanricarde and five others, to treat with them on the subject.

THE necessary preliminaries, on each side, being with difficulty adjusted, four of the commissioners met with those delegated by the opposite party, at Trim. Upon the business being opened, of the various grievances, mentioned by the latter, they particularly complained, that the English parliament encroached

encroached upon the privileges of the Irish legislature, by sending for, and questioning it's members; by denying it to be possessed of judicial powers, though one of it's essential rights; by assuming a privilege of making laws, to bind Ireland, and thus destroying the independence of the kingdom. As a flagrant instance of this, they complained of the act of adventurers, by which, upwards of two millions of acres, were alienated from the rightful proprietors. Their desires centered in a request, that a free parliament, consisting, without exception, of Protestant and Roman Catholic members, should be called, for bringing all matters in dispute, to a final accommodation.

THE substance of these complaints, and of the demands of the commissioners, had previously been communicated to the King. It merits particular notice, that, in his instructions to Ormond, he tells him, that the Irish had much to say for themselves, with respect to their not being bound, by orders of the English parliament, nor obliged by their statutes, until they should be confirmed by their own parliament. His Majesty further adds, that whatever should be agreed upon, relative to this matter, should be admitted, by way of declaration of right. who would have expected sentiments, so favourable to the liberties of Irishmen, from Charles the First?

Adieu.

L E T T E R XIX.

AS an accommodation with the Irish, would equally contribute to their advantage, and that of the King, it was warmly opposed by the Lords Justices. They addressed him upon the subject, represented the principles, and the conduct of the Irish
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in the strongest point of view, and made use of every argument to dissuade him from complying with their terms. They tell his Majesty "that if he will furnish them with the means, they will avenge the wickedness of the unjust and disloyal attempts of the rebels against him; that peace cannot safely be granted them, before the sword, or famine, has so diminished their numbers, that the English colonies may be able to keep them in subjection."

INSTEAD of complying with their desire, the King removed Sir James Parsons, who was most violent against his measures, and created Sir Henry Tichbourne lord justice in his place. On the same account, he removed from the council, Meredyth, Loftus, and Sir John Temple, enjoining it to receive no orders, but with his approbation.

SUCCESS had favoured the efforts of the Irish, and government was oppressed by difficulties. But, unexpectedly, the hopes of the Lords Justices were revived. A fleet of ships was discovered near the harbour of Dublin, among which there were seventeen vessels laden with provisions, but when it was
 1643. thought that the relief was sure, the ships, from some cause which was never explained, sailed off, to the great disappointment of government. This, together with the distresses of the state, hastened the negotiation with the insurgents. On the thirtieth of September, Charles concluded with them a cessation, which was duly confirmed, and published by proclamation. It was to continue for twelve months. The insurgents submitted to the King their desire of a free parliament, and in the mean time, engaged to furnish him with provisions, and with thirty thousand pounds in money. Liberty was granted them, to send agents to treat with his Majesty during the cessation.

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As Ormond knew that the cessation would subject him to many reflections; previous to it, he had proposed to the council, that if they could point out to him, any other method of extricating government from it's distresses, he would not proceed with it; this not being in their power, when it was concluded, he got Clanricarde, Roscommon, with other lords, and privy counsellors and officers, who had assisted him during the business, to sign a declaration, that the state of the kingdom, and of his Majesty's affairs rendered it necessary.

THE measure was very obnoxious to many. All, in both countries, who had suffered by the insurrection, and were hostile to the measures of Charles, were against it. Violent Papists were displeased with it; even some of the King's friends, from the encouragement it gave to Popery, deserted him on the occasion. But, above all, the English parliament, who had opposed it, in every step of it's progress, were offended. The thirtieth of September, they published a declaration, in which, among other things, they said. "that under the pretence of civil contracts, the Papists would exercise their Antichristian idolatry; that the commissioners for Irish affairs would, hereby, be prevented from executing their trust; that the adventurers would be disappointed, to secure whom, such pains had been taken, and that the exiled Protestants would continue in misery and want."

NOTHING but necessity, could have obliged the Roman Catholicks to unite with the King, or depend upon him, in any respect, for protection. From the treatment which they had themselves received from him, and his repeated persevering attacks upon the privileges of his English subjects, they must have been clearly convinced of his arbitrary principles.

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But if they had little prospect of being secure, under his government, in the possession of their just rights, they had still more to fear from the parliament of England, who held them in abhorrence, and on account of their religion, avowed themselves, on all occasions, their implacable enemies. Had the English parliament, the professed enemies of despotism, been disposed to befriend the Roman Catholics of Ireland, with respect to the redress of their grievances, and the security of those civil and religious privileges, to which they were entitled, there is no doubt but they would have united with them, in their efforts to support the constitution. This conduct would have been politick, it would have been consistent and virtuous. But their views were partial, their hearts were not enlarged, by the divine principles of Christian charity and benevolence.

Adieu.

L E T T E R XX.

THE cessation being concluded, Ormond immediately detached to England two thousand men, which were followed by several reinforcements, to be employed in the service of the King. Near Nantwich in Cheshire, these levies under the command of Lord Byron, were attacked by Sir Thomas Fairfax and defeated. To repair this loss, additional recruits were sent over; but the impressions to his disadvantage, occasioned by this measure, were a greater injury to the cause of Charles, than any advantage derived to him, from the assistance of his Irish auxiliaries.

IN this country, the cessation was by no means productive of tranquillity, to the contracting parties. Daily complaints of its infringements were mutual.

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The quarters on each side, were extended beyond the just limits. Lord Castlehaven, after the cessation took place, was charged with continuing the war. The insurgents were dilatory in paying the stipulated sum. By proclamation, they prohibited all intercourse with the English, and would not permit provisions to be sold to them, by which they were so much distressed, as to be obliged to evacuate several of their garrisons. On the other hand, the English invaded the property of the Roman Catholics, and possessed themselves of it by force.

THE little inclination of the Irish to assist him, in whom he had placed much confidence, was a great disappointment to Charles.

SHORTLY after the landing of the Scots, Lord Antrim had been taken prisoner by Munroe, but escaped from confinement. A second time, 1644. he was taken prisoner, and again escaped. He went over to England, and, though he had before deceived him, was not ashamed to tell the King, that if properly commissioned, he would raise a large body of troops in Ireland, and send them over to his assistance. Probably by his influence with the Queen, his offer was accepted, and himself raised to the dignity of marquiss, to induce him to act more vigorously in the business. Upon this, he passed over to Ireland. Hoping that a close connexion with the natives would assist him, in accomplishing his design, he proceeded to Kilkenny, took the oath of association, and, to engage the confidence of the confederates, engaged to act solely under their direction. They in return, appointed him lieutenant general, but being restrained in his authority, he was disgusted, and soon after relinquished his commission.

MONTROSE,

MONTROSE, in hopes of assistance from Antrim, had entered the borders of Scotland with a thousand men, and seized Dumfries, but being disappointed, the approach of Argyle with a superior force obliged him to retire. All that Antrim could accomplish, after a considerable time, was to send over to Scotland two thousand five hundred men.

In the mean time, Ormond, who, in the place of the Justices, had been sworn lord lieutenant in January, found himself in a very disagreeable situation. The insurgents were very untractable, instead of discovering those loyal dispositions which they had expressed, previous to the cessation. By their commissioners at Trim, they declared that they were ready to engage in his service ten thousand men. But from Ulster his chief difficulties arose. The Scots, most averse to the cessation, resolved not to desist from hostilities. To strengthen their aversion to it, a copy of the covenant was transmitted from Scotland, and signed by Munroe, his officers, and private soldiers. Great pains, even compulsory methods were taken, to induce numbers to enter into the engagement, which, in spite of all the efforts of Ormond and his friends, were very successful.

BUT there were several English regiments in the North, attached to the King, and of course, averse to the covenant. These met at Belfast, to consult with respect to what was best to be done, in the present emergency. Whilst employed in deliberating upon this business, they were unexpectedly attacked by Munroe, and made prisoners. A similar attempt was made upon the King's friends at Lisburn, but it was unsuccessful.

THIS dispute ended in a coalition, agreeably to which, the English were to enjoy full liberty of conscience,

science, but they were to unite with the Scots, in prosecuting the war against the Irish. When intelligence reached Dublin, of the surprise of Belfast, the lord lieutenant and council published a declaration, and oath of loyalty to be taken by all in the King's quarters, to prevent desertion.

THE junction of the Scotch and English forces composed an army of eleven thousand men. Furnished with three weeks provisions, all that could be procured, Munroe placed himself at the head of this formidable body and marched to Cavan, from whence he sent detachments into the counties of Westmeath and Longford. Castlehaven commanded the Irish troops in those parts. Being of inferior force, he seized an advantageous post near Portlester, from which all the efforts of the enemy could not dislodge him. The want of necessaries obliged Munroe to return from this fruitless expedition.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XXI.

A GREEABLY to one of the terms of the cessation, Lord Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, and others, had set off for Oxford, as agents for the Roman Catholics, to treat with the King about all matters in dispute, in order to a final accommodation. By order of his Majesty, four Irish privy counsellors were appointed to attend him, with whom he wished to advise on this critical and important subject. This measure gave the alarm to a number of more constitutional Protestants, who, in consequence of leave obtained from the King, delegated six commissioners, to communicate to him their sentiments respecting the points to be considered. These last arrived first at Oxford. According to

their instructions, they required his Majesty to listen to no terms of accommodation with the Irish, but to dissolve the confederacy, permit the penal statutes to be enforced, and the present parliament to sit upon the affairs of the nation, without any suspension of the Law of Poynings, which they thought a dangerous measure.

THE King represented, that the state of Ireland, and the power which remained with him, and the distinction which ought to be observed, betwixt the original insurgents and the Irish of the pale, whose conduct had been much less exceptionable, made it impossible for him to comply with such terms.

As the agents from the council likewise insisted, that the penal laws should be executed against the Roman Catholics; neither would their desires be complied with by his Majesty.

WITH respect to the Popish agents, the King considered their first demands to be also quite inadmissible. They were then obliged to propose conditions of peace more moderate. The object of Charles was to gratify the Roman Catholics, in the way least offensive to his friends, and at the same time, to procure from them assistance. Upon these principles, he told their commissioners, that he had promised, and was still willing to gratify several of their demands. They had denied all right of interference, and all authority in the English legislature, to make laws to bind them; he told them that both parliaments should settle a point so delicate as the independence of Ireland. They had desired seminaries of learning for the instruction of their youth; he said he had no objection to this, provided the statutes by which they were governed, were approved by him and agreeable to the customs of the Kingdom. He assured them that a general pardon should

should be granted to the Catholics, with proper exceptions, and that those who returned to their duty, should have no reason to complain of the penal statutes. He told them, that he was willing to call a new parliament, as they desired, but that all the bills to be passed in it, must be transmitted, agreeably to Poyning's Law, with which he could not dispense. He represented to them, that the state of his affairs would not admit of his offering them more favourable conditions, but that if they assisted him in recovering his rights, he would never forget the obligation, and would then, probably indulge them in some particulars, which, at present, it would be improper for him to grant. On the other hand, if they persisted in their demands, they might repent their obstinacy when too late.

THE agents seemed to acquiesce in the propriety of what he had said, but told his Majesty, they had no authority to recede from any of the terms they had proposed.

THE result was, Charles, to remove the odium of such a measure off himself, transmitted a commission to Ormond, to conclude a peace with the Irish, upon terms, which should appear to him most conducive to the public welfare, and which might enable him to subdue all his enemies. The Marquis resolved to encounter all the obloquy, and all the difficulties attending this arduous affair, and to bring it, if possible, to some conclusion. With this view, he met the Irish commissioners at Dublin, on the sixth of September, but they would not accept of the conditions offered to them by his Majesty, and he refused at present, to conclude a peace with them on any other terms.

IN April, the parliament had assembled. A pamphlet ascertaining the privileges and independence of

Ireland, just published, engaged their attention. It was supposed to be written by the lord chancellor Bolton, and entitled, "A declaration, how, and by what means, the laws and statutes of England came to be in force in Ireland." Being brought into the house of lords and read, it was sent down to the house of commons, with a desire, that they would take it into consideration. After some time, it was determined, to submit it, privately, to the examination of the gentlemen of the long robe in both houses.

It is not mentioned in the journals, whether there were any farther proceedings of parliament, relative to this matter. But, from what appears, a fear of displeasing the English legislature, induced them to behave with a timidity on the occasion, very dishonourable. It became both houses, particularly the commons, instead of acting with cautious hesitation, to have openly and warmly approved of a performance, which contained a sensible, manly and spirited defence of the rights of this country. I shall say nothing more of this celebrated performance, as I will have occasion to take particular notice of another, written with the same design, and containing the same arguments, which appeared a few years succeeding the revolution.

In the course of these proceedings, Lord Inchiquin had changed from the side of Charles, to that of the parliament. You have seen, that the command in the Southern province had devolved upon him, on the death of Saint Ledger, and that he had laboured, amidst a variety of pressing difficulties, to maintain his ground. In reward of these services, the King had promised to make him president of Munster, but he broke his engagement, and bestowed that office on the Earl of Portland. Disgusted by this
ungrateful

ungrateful treatment, and displeased with having been unjustly accused, of entering into a treacherous combination with the Irish, he expelled the Roman Catholic magistrates from Cork, took possession of that city, with Youghall and Kinsale, and openly declared in favour of the parliament. By his influence with Lord Esmond, the governor, the fort of Duncannon was likewise given up to them; pressed however with difficulties, chiefly arising from the want of provisions, he was compelled, shortly after, to make a temporary cessation with the Irish. On the expiration of the truce, Lord Castlehaven advanced with a body of the Irish forces into Munster. He retook the fort of Duncannon, possessed himself of a number of castles, and over-ran the country. Inchiquin, inferior to the enemy in troops, and ill provided with necessaries, was obliged to shut himself up in Cork, which, probably, he would have been obliged to surrender, had not Lord Broghil arrived to his assistance.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XXII.

FROM September sixteen hundred and forty four, the cessation agreed upon betwixt the King and the natives, had been prolonged, by mutual consent, to the middle of the following Summer. The treaty of peace was still depending. With respect to it, Charles in a public letter, expressed his approbation of the answer given by Ormond, to the Irish commissioners, and desired him to persevere in the same resolution. But when the treaty of Uxbridge broke off, in consequence of which, all hopes that the parliament would comply with his terms vanished, he wrote privately to the lord lieutenant,

to make the best bargain he could with the Irish, telling him, that if they would vigorously engage in his behalf, no conditions could be too hard, not against conscience and honor. At the same time, he desired him not to divulge these instructions, unless compelled to it by necessity. The mind of Ormond was now pressed, by a sense of the difficulties in which this business involved him. He saw it to be dangerous to exceed his public instructions, and that the best terms of peace, which the Irish would accept, must subject him to reproach, not only from those who were hostile to the King's measures, but from many of his friends. A number of the insurgents were his relations; if he did too little, he incurred their resentment, if too much, he would be charged with partiality, and that still more, on account of his estate having been seized by the Irish, to which peace only could restore him. Besides, could he surmount every other difficulty, he well knew, that the majority of the council would not consent to transmit a bill, either for a suspension of Poynings' Law, on such an occasion, or to confirm the pacification. Perplexed by these circumstances, he petitioned the King, for leave to resign his office. This Charles refused. He knew the loss he would sustain, by giving up so zealous a friend, in the present critical state of his affairs. To induce him to continue in office, he gave him every additional privilege, and conferred upon him every favour in his power to bestow. Thus encouraged to persevere, he turned his views to the parliament, and to the forces in Ulster, hoping to unite them to the royal cause, upon terms more favourable, than those which could be procured from the Irish. Two circumstances inclined these troops to hearken to his proposal. They were distressed by the want of subsistence,

ence, and much displeased with the result of the treaty of Uxbridge, and with the designs, in respect to Charles, discovered on that occasion. But the English parliament, jealous of this attempt of Ormond, and apprehensive of the consequence, sent over commissioners to the North, with a supply of money and provisions, and disappointed his expectation. Upon this, he renewed the treaty with the Irish. In April, sixteen hundred and forty five, to which time the business had been adjourned, he once more met their agents. Determined to abide by his public instructions, the terms on which he insisted, were pretty nearly the same with those he had formerly proposed. Nothing was agreed upon. The matter was then taken up by the general convention. Here, a diversity of sentiments prevailed. The more moderate, and those least influenced by private views, were friends to an accommodation, whilst those of Ulster opposed it. Of these, a number could not bear the thoughts of parting with the property they had acquired, others of them dreaded the punishment of their crimes. But none of them were more averse to peace than the clergy. Since the insurrection, they had regained both their livings and consequence, and hoped to obtain still more flattering advantages, by a continuance of the war. But notwithstanding, peace would probably have been concluded on the terms proposed by Ormond, had not the private intention of Charles, with respect to it, been known, at least to a number in the assembly.

WHEN the King found that Ormond was so scrupulous, in concluding a peace with the Irish, upon any terms but those, in respect to which he was publickly authorized, he had privately communicated the additional concessions he was willing to make,

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in their favour, to certain of their agents, then attending his court. These had returned to Ireland, and given an account of this transaction to their friends. But a person soon after arrived at Kilkenny, prepared to give the convention much more satisfaction on the subject; this was Edward 1645. Earl of Glamorgan, to whose strenuous and persevering exertions, in support of his cause, the King had been greatly indebted. He was exceedingly vain, and of weak understanding; but, as he was distinguished by an insinuating address, was a zealous Roman Catholic, had a property in Ireland, and, by marrying a daughter of the Earl of Thomond, was allied to the most powerful families in the kingdom, Charles thought him a very proper person to be employed in removing those obstacles, by which he had been prevented from receiving the expected aid, from the natives of this country.

UPON his arrival at Kilkenny, he produced two commissions from his Majesty, of pretty much the same date, by which he was invested with unlimited powers, to make peace with the Irish, on whatever terms he might think expedient. In consequence, August the twenty fifth, sixteen hundred and forty five, he privately concluded a peace with them, on the terms, that they should openly profess their religion, subject to no jurisdiction, but their own; that they should hold for ever, all lands, tenements, churches, tythes and hereditaments, possessed by them, either at, or since October, sixteen hundred and forty one, and all other churches, except such as were then possessed by the Protestant clergy.

FOR these concessions, the Irish engaged to send ten thousand men, under the command of Glamorgan, to be employed by him, where, and in whatever manner they might best serve the King's interest.

Two thirds of the revenues of the Roman Catholic clergy, for three years, were set apart, for the maintenance of these troops. Matters relating to these points, being thus settled to their satisfaction, they renewed the treaty with Ormond, which had been so often attempted in vain. As they had now no demands to insist upon, with respect to religion, which had been a chief cause of their former disagreement, the affair was brought speedily to a conclusion. But, with a view to the advantages they had privately obtained, and which they hoped the King's affairs would soon permit him to avow, they stipulated, that they should not, by the treaty, be excluded from the benefit of any other favourable conditions, which his Majesty might be pleased to grant them.

It was thought, that all difficulties, with respect to this tedious business, were now entirely removed. But new obstacles arose,

Adieu.

L E T T E R XXIII.

FROM the beginning of the insurrection, the Pope flattered himself that he would regain his lost authority in Ireland. This hope had induced him, to encourage it by his countenance and protection. Towards defraying the expence of O'Nial, Preston, and the other officers, who, to support the Roman Catholics, came over to Ireland from the continent, he contributed twenty thousand crowns. He had also sent emissaries, to animate the Irish to perseverance. In particular, with this view, Scarampus, a noble Neapolitan, had come over in the capacity of nuncio. Vested with the same character, he now dispatched to Ireland John Baptista Rinuncini,

nuncini, Archbishop of Fermo. His address was polite, and agreeable; he was eloquent; in his manner of living regular, in his conduct untinged by avarice or corruption, but, at the same time, he was passionate, vain, ambitious, and distinguished by the most intemperate zeal for Popery. On his way to this country, he stopped at Paris, to pay his respects to the Queen of England, who was then in that city, and to whom he had letters of credence. Having discovered him to be a violent bigot, and apprehensive that if he proceeded on his design, he would blast all the hopes, which the King had conceived of assistance from the Irish Catholics, she endeavoured to detain him in France: but in vain.

On his arrival at Kilkenny, he communicated to the general assembly, the object of his mission. It was first, he said, to propagate the Catholic religion, secondly, to promote union among Catholics, and, thirdly, to cherish in them the allegiance due to their lawful sovereign. But being informed of the private treaty with Glamorgan, and of that with Ormond, he was exceedingly dissatisfied. To publish the treaty with Ormond, which respected civil matters, and to keep the others a secret, which they told him the King's affairs indispensibly required, was, he thought, dishonourable, and an affront to religion, and besides, no provision was made for restoring it to its original dignity and splendor. He likewise thought, that to depend on the private powers of Glamorgan, and on the engagement entered into with him, which the King might not be able to fulfil, was very foolish. Glamorgan endeavoured to soothe him. He treated him with every mark of respect and confidence, shewed him a letter from Charles, to the Pope, to convince him, that he

he designed to cultivate with his Holiness a friendly correspondence. He gave the Nuncio a letter from the King to himself, in which he tells him, that whatever, Glamorgan should do, he would confirm. He desires him to confide in him, but observes, that the transactions betwixt them must be kept secret. The letter concludes with these remarkable words, "This is the first letter we have written to any minister of state, of the Pope, but after matters are settled betwixt us, we will openly shew ourselves, as we have assured him, your friend." But he would not be satisfied, To express his displeasure in the strongest manner, he, with eight bishops, entered a protest against the proceedings of the assembly. It has been mentioned, that Glamorgan was weak, vain, and a bigot to his religion. Of this he gave many proofs, particularly at present, he was so foolish, at the solicitation of the Nuncio, as to engage, that, when the ten thousand men stipulated, were sent over to England, in defence of his Majesty's rights, the lord lieutenant should be a Catholic, the university subject to it's own regulations, the bishops permitted to sit in parliament, and that the supreme council should retain their power, without interruption from Ormond, until the private treaty was ratified. Had they not been equally blind, they must have seen, that, unless they were to have the whole power of the state at their disposal, these points could not be accomplished. But the whole business was interrupted by an unexpected accident.

At the requisition of Sir Charles Coote, who had been lately appointed, by the parliament, to command in Connaught, a detachment of the Ulster forces marched into that province, and took the town of Sligo. The Archbishop of Tuam, a warlike churchman,

churchman, placed himself at the head of some forces he had collected, with a view to recover it. In this attempt, he was attacked by Sir Charles Coote, and slain. In his baggage was discovered an authentic copy of the treaty concluded with Glamorgan, and of all the other papers relating to that transaction.

THEY were immediately transmitted to the English parliament, by whose order, they were printed, and copies of them dispersed through both kingdoms. As the body of the Roman Catholics were highly pleased, with the flattering prospect opened to their view, the Protestants were exceedingly provoked. They charged the King with being guilty of the most shameful duplicity, by entering into an engagement with the Roman Catholics, in direct contradiction to declarations, which he had, often, openly and solemnly repeated, "We see now," said many, in the bitterness of resentment, "that the reflexions cast upon the King, as having at first favoured the Irish rebellion, were well founded." The clamour was loud and universal. To allay the ferment, Charles and his friends were so mean as to deny the transaction.

LORD Digby, one of the King's secretaries of state, whom he had sent to Ireland to assist Ormond in managing his affairs, charged Glamorgan with high treason, who was seized in Dublin, for presuming to do, by a pretended authority from the King, that, to which, Digby asserted, he would not consent, to redeem his crown, and save his family from destruction. Having passed through a formal examination, before the council, in the course of which, he insisted upon the rectitude of his intentions, and that he had not exceeded the powers with which he
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was invested by his Majesty, he was committed to prison.

WHEN intelligence of this affair reached Kilkenny, the members of the assembly were highly provoked. They immediately dispatched agents to Dublin, to desire the release of Glamorgan, and to declare, that nothing would be done for the service of the King, until this was accomplished. To conclude the farce, government took sureties for his appearance, and restored him to liberty.

UPON the seizure of Glamorgan, Charles declared to government, that the Earl had offered to raise troops for his service, in Ireland; that he had accepted of this offer, but had given him no permission to treat of any thing, particularly, in respect to religion, without the consent and instructions of the viceroy; that, in the treaty, he had exceeded his powers, which he had heard with amazement, persuaded that no man could be guilty of such folly and presumption, on which account, he had ordered him to be prosecuted.

THE King's friends have endeavoured to criminate Glamorgan in this affair, and to save his Majesty from the imputation of inconsistency and hypocrisy. But those who attend impartially to the circumstances, must be convinced that they have laboured in vain.

WHEN a crime is detected, the offender generally discovers a sense of conscious guilt. But, when Glamorgan was seized, he discovered no marks of fear, he was perfectly composed. No man in his senses could have forged such commissions, as those which he produced at Kilkenny, as Lord Digby himself acknowledged, when writing afterwards upon this subject, to Secretary Nichols. Did not he know that the imposition could not long be kept secret,

cret, and that when it was revealed, he had nothing to expect but shame, dishonor, and merited punishment? One of the commissions was recited, in the preamble to the treaty he concluded with the Irish. Would he have permitted this to be done, had it been spurious?

UPON his enlargement, Glamorgan received a commission from the Lord Lieutenant and council, to settle all matters with the Irish relative to the transporting of soldiers, and other matters conducive to his Majesty's service. That they should repose such confidence in him, was very extraordinary, upon the supposition of his having been really guilty of the crime, with which he had been charged.

As the King had given private powers to Ormond, which he did not think proper to use, it is not to be supposed that Charles, when he gave similar, nay, more extensive powers to another, would desire that person to participate with him; however, the Lord Lieutenant, informed by a confidential letter, previous to the departure of Glamorgan from England, that Glamorgan had actually been vested with such authority, and, probably, well pleased that he had himself been extricated from such a disagreeable business, encouraged him, by letter, to go on, in his treaty with the Nuncio, without fear of interruption from him, or, of even being questioned, with respect to the means he would make use of in it's accomplishment. Would he have written in this style, to a man who he thought, and that in this very business, had, a little before, been guilty of high treason?

BUT the King's letters to Glamorgan subsequent to this affair, place his own insincerity and the innocence of the Earl, in the clearest point of view.

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IN a letter, to be delivered to him by a confidential friend, Charles tells him, that the ill offices of none could possibly make him suffer in his good opinion, and that he was every day, more and more, confirmed in the trust which he reposed in him. In another, he says, " I know you cannot but be confident, of my making good all instructions and promises to you and the Nuncio."

IN a third letter he expresses himself thus, " As I doubt not, but you have too much courage to be dismayed at the usage you have had, so I assure you that my estimation of you is nothing diminished by it, but rather begets in me, a desire of revenge and reparation to us both, for in this I hold myself equally interested with you. Wherefore, not doubting of your accustomed care and industry in my service, I assure you of the continuance of my favour and protection, and that in deeds more than in words, I shall shew myself to be your most assured, constant friend."

BESIDES, in the first article of the peace afterwards concluded with the Irish, it is declared that none of the conditions then agreed upon shall, exclude the Catholics, from the benefit of his Majesty's farther graces and concessions. Which words, Bel-lings, secretary to the supreme council, who well knew the whole matter, expressly says, were inserted by them, with a tacit relation to the agreement made with the Earl of Glamorgan. In this agreement, the Irish were deeply interested. The seizure of Glamorgan must have roused their suspicion, and prompted them to make the minutest enquiries, with respect to the authority by which he had acted. Their dependence on it, after this, plainly

plainly shews, that they had good reason to be satisfied with respect to it.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XXIV.

THE validity of Glamorgan's powers being called in question, rendered Rinuncini still more averse, from the proceedings of the general assembly.

WE have mentioned, that Glamorgan, on being set at liberty, had been commissioned by government, to use his endeavours to accommodate matters with the Irish, in such a manner, that the King might receive from them the aid, which the desperate state to which his affairs were now reduced, so much required. Accordingly, he laboured the point with the Nuncio, and, to remove the unfavourable impressions he had received from the late transaction, assured him, that the part which the King had acted, did not proceed from any intention to disclaim or invalidate his authority, but from necessity. But neither Glamorgan's most zealous efforts, nor those of his friends, produced any change in the Nuncio. He told them, there was a treaty then in agitation at Rome, in which they were concerned, and which made honourable provision for the church; that he daily expected the original, and was resolved to consent to no accommodation with government, of which it was not the basis. The matter to which he referred was this. The Queen had dispatched, from Paris to Rome, in quality of resident, Sir Kænelm Digby, to entreat a subsidy for Charles. Whilst he was negotiating this business, a treaty was set on foot betwixt the Pope and him, the object of which was, to engage the Irish to transport

transport an army to England, where they were to be joined by a body of troops of the same persuasion, whose united efforts were to be employed in support of the royal cause, in procuring an abolition of the penal statutes, and establishing the independence of the Roman Catholic religion, in both countries. Towards defraying the expence to be incurred, in executing this design, his Holiness was largely to contribute. The treaty was signed by the Pope and Digby. But this vain bigot, who in this business, assumed powers with which he was not invested, was disappointed in his sanguine and absurd expectations. Charles refused to ratify the agreement. This was the treaty of which Rinuncini had conceived such flattering hopes. In vain he expected every day the arrival of it, to justify the high terms, on which alone he would consent to an agreement with government. The Nuncio persevered in his opposition. Notwithstanding, the general assembly once more concluded a peace with Ormond. It was finished on the twenty eighth of March, sixteen hundred and forty six. The terms were the same with those of the former treaty. The principal of them were; that in the place of the oath of supremacy, one should be substituted, less obnoxious to the Roman Catholics; that a new parliament should be called, at or before the ensuing November, in which, these articles were to receive the sanction of laws; that the authority of parliament should disannul all acts and ordinances, made to the prejudice of the Roman Catholics, since the seventh of August, sixteen hundred and forty one; that all indictments, attainders, and impediments, disqualifying Catholics from sitting in parliament, passed, made and declared, since the above mentioned date, shall be made void, before the next meeting of parliament;

that until a final settlement, by parliament, the Irish were to hold all the forts, towns and districts, within their quarters; that the estates of Roman Catholics, in Connaught, Clare and Thomond, should be secured to them; that one or more inns of court, and one or more universities, and schools for education, maybe erected for their use, provided, those concerned, do take the oath substituted in the place of the oath of supremacy; that no difference shall henceforth be made, betwixt Roman Catholics and Protestants, with respect to the holding of places of profit, or of honor, under the crown; that in relation to the independence of the parliament of Ireland on that of England, both houses in this kingdom shall make such declarations, as shall be agreeable to the laws of Ireland; that an act of oblivion shall be passed in the next parliament, relating to all treasons and offences, committed since the twenty third of October sixteen hundred and forty one; that maritime causes, be determined in this kingdom, with a power of appeal to the court of chancery, to be final, unless brought before the Irish parliament, if then sitting, from which no appeal. In the first article was inserted, the clause that has been mentioned, with the reason of it, by which the Irish reserved to themselves, any advantages which they might obtain, from his Majesty's farther concessions. In return, the Irish engage to transport ten thousand troops to England, for the service of the King, in six weeks. If this was not done, and no sufficient reason given, the engagement, on the part of his Majesty, to be void.

ORMOND immediately proceeded to get all things ready, for the first embarkation of the Irish troops; but transports could not be got, nor if they could, would it have been safe to send over the troops, as
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the parliament forces had seized the places in North Wales designed for their landing. It appeared, that the Irish were not displeased with these disappointments. Instead of shewing zeal in the service, they disputed with Ormond, about publishing Glamorgan's treaty at the same time with the other.

AT this juncture, a letter arrived from Charles to the Lord Lieutenant, forbidding him to proceed farther in the treaty with the natives. The cause of this order he would not unfold; but it was soon explained. Lord Digby arrived from the continent, where he had gone to solicit assistance, and informed Ormond, that the King was a prisoner, that what he had written to him was from compulsion, and that he should pay no regard to any instructions, but those which he should receive from the King in cypher, from the Queen, or Prince of Wales. This difficulty being removed, the treaty was ratified by proclamation. Had the terms of it been complied with, some time before, it might have been of use to Charles; now, the strength of his party in England being demolished, it was too late.

ON the occasion of the peace with government, Rinuncini lost all patience; in resentment to the general assembly, he addressed himself to Owen Roe O'Nial, and, by his influence, together with a present of four thousand pounds, and a supply of powder, prevailed with him to break off all connexion with the confederates, and to oppose their measures. To this O'Nial was more easily induced, as, in the terms of peace, no attention had been paid to the grievances which his soldiers had sustained, by the Ulster plantation.

AT the head of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, he directed his march towards Armagh. This movement engaged the attention of Munroe,

who, with near seven thousand men, followed and came up with the Irish general near the village of Benburb. It was early in the morning when the two armies met. O'Nial declined to fight until the evening, when, a detachment which he had sent into the country having returned, the battle began. It did not continue long. The troops of Munroe gave way. Three thousand of his men were either killed or taken prisoners. The greatest part of his tents, arms and baggage fell likewise into the hands of the enemy. Upon this success, the army of O'Nial increased to ten thousand men. With this formidable force, he had resolved to attack the Scotch troops in their quarters, but, by the advice of the Nuncio, he led his men into Leinster, to compel the confederates to relinquish their treaty with government, by which means, he lost all the fruits of his victory. The exertions of the Nuncio, supported by the army of O'Nial, produced, in many places, a warm opposition to the peace, particularly in Limerick, where the magistrates, who favoured it, were dismissed, and persons of different sentiments substituted in their place.

Not contented with the violent measures which he had hitherto pursued, Rinuncini convened a meeting of the clergy at Waterford, excommunicated the commissioners who had been employed in concluding the peace, and pronounced all those who supported it, and who had taken the oath of association, to be guilty of perjury. Upon principles more favourable to the Catholic religion, he formed a new oath of association, and forbade divine service to be performed, in any of the towns which submitted to the peace. In vain did the supreme council endeavour, to prevail with this turbulent ecclesiastic, to cease from his unreasonable proceedings.

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They applied to Ormond, and entreated his interposition. Ormond was sensible that, if the Irish should break off from his interest, the remaining resources of Charles, in Ireland, would speedily be annihilated. To prevent this, if possible, and in compliance with the desire of the council, taking with him Clanricarde, who, some time before, had been created a marquis, Lord Digby, fifteen hundred foot and five hundred horse, he set off for Kilkenny. Having used some ineffectual efforts with the refractory, he was obliged to return to Dublin with all possible expedition, O'Nial, with the connivance of Preston, who was now gained over to the interest of the Nuncio, having put his army in motion to cut off his retreat.

Adieu.

L E T T E R XXV.

THE influence of the general assembly, was now almost entirely destroyed. Rinuncini entered Kilkenny, with the state and assumed importance of a conqueror, where all affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, were directed by him. Among other acts of arbitrary power, he appointed a new council, and commanded the old to be cast into prison. Of those who were devoted to the will of the Nuncio, none cultivated his favor more assiduously than Glamorgan. This court paid to him, by a person who shared, in so high a degree, the confidence of the King, increased the influence, and was very flattering to the vanity of Rinuncini. Of the dependance he placed upon him, and of his warm affection, the Earl received from Charles, at this time, a new and most convincing proof. He wrote to him a letter, in which he tells him, how much he loved his per-

son and conversation, that seeing all others despised him, he wished for an opportunity of escaping to Ireland, to commit himself to his friendship, and that of the Nuncio, which would conduce to the interest of both countries. Glamorgan was much pleased with this intention of the King, and encouraged him to put it in execution; but he was so closely watched by his keepers, that it could not be accomplished.

ORMOND was now involved in complicated difficulties. The fortifications of Dublin were much out of order, nor had he the means of repairing them. He was unable to support the garrison. His resources, both of a public nature, and those derived from his personal fortune, were almost quite exhausted.

THE Irish, who would have assisted him, had lost their power; those of the opposite party were equally enemies to himself, and to the cause in which he was engaged. By the zealous, uniform support, which he had given to Charles, in the prosecution of his arbitrary designs, he had, in a particular manner, rendered himself obnoxious to the parliament of England. The measure was very painful to him, but by a combination of adverse circumstances, being deprived of every other resource, he applied to them for assistance, offering, under their direction, to carry on the war against the Irish, provided they sent to him, immediately, three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, furnished them with three months pay, and kept indemnified, in their persons and estates, himself, and all others in the kingdom, who had adhered to the royal cause. The parliament replied, that they were disposed to send over a body of men, for the protection of Dublin, and to prosecute the war against the Roman Catholics, but would not permit either himself or his friends, to be concerned

concerned in the conduct of affairs, either civil or military.

WHILST this treaty was in agitation, O'Nial and Preston sat down before Dublin, with sixteen thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. The siege went heavily forwards. It was the Winter season, against which the assailants were ill provided; besides, a difference had arisen betwixt the two leaders, and the troops under their respective command. It could not be expected, that O'Nial and Preston would agree, they were distinguished by such a diversity of character. The former was cautious, dispassionate, reserved, jealous; the latter was choleric, communicative, imprudent. The Nuncio was partial to the soldiers commanded by O'Nial, the old native Irish. This disgusted and alienated from them, the Irish of the pale, who served under Preston. Lord Digby, to whom the idea of a treaty with the English parliament was particularly disgusting, hoped, that from this disagreement of the Irish, government might be able to effect an accommodation, with one or other of the parties. As the person most proper to assist in such a design, he employed the Marquis of Clanricarde, Upon entering on the business, he found the terms of O'Nial to be such, as Ormond could not be persuaded to comply with. Among other conditions, he insisted, that Dublin, Drogheda, and other garrison towns, within the Protestant quarters, should be delivered up to the Roman Catholics. Shortly after, commissioners from the parliament, arrived at Dublin, with a number of men, and a supply of money and provisions; on which, O'Nial and his men decamped, and with the Nuncio and the supreme council, who had attended the siege, returned to Kilkenny. Preston remained, with whom, a negotiation for peace had been also opened.

opened. Ormond hoped it would be successful. Upon this prospect, he refused to comply with the conditions, proposed to him by the parliament commissioners, on which, they reembarked, and carried the forces they had brought with them to the province of Ulster. The terms proposed to Preston were, that the penal statutes should be repealed, that the Roman Catholics should hold the churches, of which they were now in possession, until the King's pleasure were known; that Preston's troops were to be received into the garrison towns, in his Majesty's service, and Preston, under the command of the Marquis of Clanricarde, to be made lieutenant general. The Queen and Prince of Wales were to confirm these articles, and France to guarantee the performance of them. Contrary to a determined purpose, not to grant such indulgence to Roman Catholics, in respect to religion, from which no sollicitation, hitherto, could tempt him to depart, Ormond was prevailed with to give his consent. Preston agreed to the terms, and, having settled all matters with the lord lieutenant, necessary to the execution of their schemes, marched off with his army: But, he had not proceeded far, when he was met by a messenger from the Nuncio, who commanded him, in his name, to renounce his engagements with Ormond, and to disperse his army, adding, that if he did not, he would excommunicate him. Preston obeyed, informed Clanricarde, that he had changed his sentiments, and in a few days, published his recantation. There still remained with Ormond a dawn of hope. The general assembly was soon to meet, and there was a possibility, that they would not approve the violent proceedings of the Nuncio. But, by his address and over-ruling influence, a majority of the returns were

were favourable to the wishes of Rinuncini. The assembly justified his conduct, and would listen to no offers from government, which were not, in the highest degree, favourable to the interest of the Catholic religion. In this, Ormond, who seems to have repented of his concessions to Preston, absolutely refused to gratify them.

ALL hopes of assistance from the Irish were now extinguished, and the King's affairs in England utterly ruined. Ormond advised with the council, and called the parliament to consult with them, in respect to what was best to be done, in this extremity. They both agreed, that it was his duty to resign the government, upon their own terms, to the English parliament. With this advice, he determined to comply. There was a circumstance in the conduct of the Lord Lieutenant, 1647. on this occasion, which merits notice. The Irish parliament presented him an address of thanks, in answer to which, speaking of the King, he protests that "he never received any commissions from him, which did not speak him to be a wise, a pious and Protestant Prince." To mention none other of his Majesty's instructions to him, how could he reconcile with this declaration, those which he received relative to his making a private treaty with the Roman Catholics, and which, on account of their appearing to him quite improper, he would not execute? It would seem that, in this instance, Ormond sacrificed his sincerity to his affection for Charles, and a desire of removing those imputations, which had been cast upon his character by the Protestants. Another part of his conduct cannot be justified. After he had renewed the negotiation with the parliament of England, he, privately, in consequence of instructions from the Queen, attempted, once more, to bring about

about an accommodation with the Irish. This was dishonourable.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XXVI.

ON the nineteenth of June sixteen hundred and forty seven, Ormond signed articles of agreement with the parliament of England, by which, he engaged to resign into their hands the government, upon condition, that neither Protestants or recusants should be molested, who had not engaged in the insurrection; that, with respect to himself, he should be permitted to enjoy his estate, and be protected from all demands of a public nature; that for twelve months, he should be protected from all private suits, respecting either his person or property; that he should be paid thirteen thousand eight hundred and seventy seven pounds, which he had expended in the public service; that, for the convenience of settling his affairs, he should be allowed to stay in Dublin until the twenty eighth of July, and then to take with him any friends who might choose to accompany him. Mean time, as a security of the agreement, on his part, his second son Lord Roscommon, Sir James Ware and Colonel Chichester, were sent over to England as hostages.

SOME time before, a regiment had arrived from England. They now sent, by their agents, two thousand men to support their interest in this country.

AT the appointed time, the sword of state, and, with it, all authority, was delivered up by the Lord Lieutenant to the commissioners, upon which, he embarked for England. On his departure, Colonel Jones was made governor of Dublin, and vested with

with the command of the Leinster forces. We must observe, that the commissioners, even before Ormond departed, published an order for discontinuing the liturgy, and, by their authority, commanded the directory to be used in all the churches of the city. This was a shameful inconsistency. For if they considered the establishment of the liturgy, to be an imposition on the liberty of conscience, what right had they, upon their own principles, to substitute in it's place, a different form of religion? Was not this equally unjust, with respect to the sentiments of those who, from a conviction of it's impropriety, could not receive it? The privileges of Christians have suffered exceedingly, in consequence of particular forms of our religion being made a support of civil authority. The empire of Christ, whose sole object is, to enlighten the understanding, to purify the heart, and animate to the practice of virtue, is totally distinct from all views of worldly policy. As to bigotry, which, in it's original principles, is generally pride, ambition, or a party spirit gratified under the semblance of religion, it has ever been disgraceful to Christianity, an enemy to the kind affections, and the bane of human happiness.

THE truth of these remarks not only appears from the interested views, and the unkind treatment of each other, by which the different denominations of Protestants were at this time distinguished, but also in the conduct of the Roman Catholics. Though a restraint of the same kind, was one of the grievances of which they themselves chiefly complained, they would not permit the Protestants publicly to profess their religion, within the limits of any of their quarters.

THOUGH the conduct of the Irish, in their transactions with Ormond, had been marked by a series
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of folly, and his own behaviour, with respect to the late treaty, could not be justified, yet Preston determined to give every opposition to the power of the English parliament, in which resolution he was joined by Lord Taafe, who, in the place of Lord Muskerry, had been put at the head of the Munster army. Having reduced Naas and some other places, he advanced to attack Trim. In order to stop his progress, Jones was obliged to leave the capital, at the head of a body of troops. The Irish general endeavoured to take advantage of this circumstance, and, by a forced march, to surprise Dublin. Jones pursued, came up with Preston, at a place called Dungan hill, and obtained over him a compleat victory. Three thousand of the Irish were killed in this battle, and a number of them taken prisoners. They likewise lost their arms, baggage and artillery. For this service, the English parliament settled upon Jones five hundred pounds a year, out of the forfeited lands. They were very liberal of what did not belong to them. But Ireland seems to have been considered by them as their absolute property.

INFLUENCED by Rinuncini, the supreme council took from general Preston the greatest part of his forces, and placed them under the command of his favourite, O'Nial, who, with much indiscretion, led his army to the vicinity of Dublin, which he wasted with fire and sword. This contributed to encrease the disagreement, which, for some time past, had subsisted betwixt the old Irish and the Roman Catholics of the pale.

WITH respect to the affairs of Munster, Lord Lisle having been created lord lieutenant of Ireland by the parliament, had landed, the preceding February, at Cork, with a number of troops, thirty thousand pounds, and a small supply of arms and ammunition.

ammunition. There he found the officers of the army disaffected, and all other matters in a most unpromising situation. His commission being almost expired, he shortly after returned to England.

INCHICUIN had been much distressed, by the want of provisions. In Summer, necessity forced him to the field; he wasted the country, reduced several forts belonging to the enemy, and took Cashel by storm. Here he put a number of Irish to the sword, among whom were several clergymen. This act of cruelty subjected him, and justly, to severe reflections. The preservation of the army under Lord Taaffe, was of great importance to the cause of the Roman Catholics; for this reason, he had cautiously avoided a general engagement with the enemy. But, provoked by the depredations of Inchiquin, the Nuncio and his friends insisted, that Lord Taaffe should act with more vigour. In consequence of these orders, at Knocknones, the thirteenth of November, he engaged Inchiquin. After great efforts of valour on each side, he yielded the victory to Inchiquin. It was one of the most unfortunate battles, to the Irish, which had been fought since the beginning of the war.

WHEN intelligence of this victory reached the English parliament, they voted a letter of thanks to Inchiquin, a present of a thousand pounds to himself, and ten thousand pounds to his soldiers. But, by not remitting the money, they frustrated the expectation which this raised, in Inchiquin and his army. Chagrined by the disappointment, and tired of the difficulties with which he had struggled, he deserted the parliament, and, with his troops, engaged once more in the cause of the royalists.

THE late defeat which their troops had sustained, with the unpromising aspect of their affairs, induced
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the supreme council to wish for a cessation with Inchiquin. To induce him to this, Lord Taaffe and General Preston entered into a solemn engagement, that, if he complied with their desires, they would support Charles against all those who were hostile to his government. This was new fuel to the passions of Rinuncini. He acted the same extravagant part as formerly. Prudence is a virtue unknown to enthusiasts and bigots; for although the Catholics were divided among themselves, and pressed by difficulties, no treaty could please him, which did not make provision for the Papal claims, in their utmost extent, and secure the establishment of their religion, on the most honourable and permanent foundation. His opposition protracted the business, for some time, but could not prevent it from being accomplished. The cessation was concluded, and, on the seventh of May, published. Rinuncini, having protested against this measure, and excommunicated those concerned in it, cast himself, once more, for assistance, upon O'Nial, who, under his banner, proclaimed war, and proceeded to hostilities against the supreme council. Some ineffectual efforts convinced him, that his own force was not sufficient to the accomplishment of this design. Though the views of the parliamentarians were, of all others, the most inconsistent with his principles, and that of the party he espoused, yet, with consent of the Nuncio, he made offers of accommodation to Jones. Jones most willingly embraced them. In consequence of this, O'Nial was permitted to lead his army through Leinster, to the assistance of Athlone, then besieged by the confederates. But his attempts to relieve it were ineffectual. His next enterprise was, to seize Kilkenny, and take the clergy, who were assembled there, prisoners, by surprise; had this design been accomplished,

accomplished, it would have been a capital stroke, but he was disappointed by Inchiquin, who, having seasonably discovered his intention, advanced with a body of forces and protected the town. Inchiquin, having been joined by a part of Preston's army, endeavoured to bring O'Nial to an engagement, but the dexterity of that experienced general frustrated his design. O'Nial was obliged to lead back his army to Ulster.

SOME time before, the confederates had delegated commissioners to France, Spain, and Italy, to treat of their affairs. The commissioners to France returned in September, and brought with them the following answer, in writing, from the Queen and Prince of Wales, which they communicated to the general assembly, then convened at Kilkenny, "that they were willing, to give them every satisfaction in their power, in respect to the matters, which they wished should be done, so far as was consistent with the honor and interest of his majesty, but that as their agents had not the necessary powers, for finally adjusting all points, full authority would be given, by the Queen and Prince, to those whom they would approve delegated by them, to receive their proposals, and conclude all matters." This opened a prospect of peace, with which the assembly were much pleased, who, as the strongest evidence of their sentiments and intentions, proclaimed O'Nial a traitor. With respect to the Nuncio, they had formerly appealed to Rome, against the impolitical and violent measures, which he had pursued, they now appealed there against him, a second time, in which they were supported by two archbishops, twelve bishops, by the secular clergy in their dioceses, and by those of the several religious orders, most distinguished

guished for moderation, for knowledge, and regularity of conduct.

Adieu.

LETTER XXVII.

THE same principles, which had attached Ormond so zealously to the fortunes of Charles, induced him, when he left Ireland, to go to London, to be ready, on any favourable occurrence, to exert himself farther in his behalf. But the parliament suspected his designs, and issued an order for apprehending him, to avoid which, he fled to Saint Germain, where he was admitted to the particular confidence of the Queen and Prince. It was now thought expedient, to send him back again to Ireland, of which he had been continued lord lieutenant, by the King, to unite Inchiquin, Preston, Taafe, and all others, who were disposed to support his cause. In the beginning of September, he landed at Cork, but brought with him little aid; however, to prevent his friends from being discouraged, he assured them that considerable assistance would follow, and endeavoured to rouse their spirits, by representing the King's affairs in the most favourable point of view. Charles was now engaged in the treaty of Newport, on which occasion, he declared to the parliament, that they had full liberty, notwithstanding any cessation which might have been concluded with them, by his friends, to prosecute the war against the Irish. Never scrupulous to sacrifice his sincerity to his views of private advantage, he wrote to Ormond, not to be surprised by his concessions to the parliament, but to follow the instructions which he should receive, from the Queen and Prince of Wales. Vested with ample powers
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by them, Ormond met the Roman Catholic commissioners, at his house near Carrick, from whence, the business, after some consultation, was adjourned to Kilkenny. Several causes of delay intervened, but the agents from the Pope, having now returned, without bringing to the Irish, from his Holiness, any encouragement to prosecute the war, and the designs of the army on the life of the King, being discovered, whose death they apprehended would be the ruin of their affairs, a treaty was settled, and ratified, the seventeenth of January, sixteen hundred and forty eight. In relation to civil matters, the articles were nearly the same with those of the peace of sixteen hundred and forty six. As to their religion, the Irish were to have liberty to exercise it, unrestrained by the penal statutes. Until the King's pleasure should be known, they were to keep all the churches, which they now possessed, and, which strongly marked the depression of the royal party, twelve commissioners of trust were chosen by the Roman Catholics, who were not only guardians, with respect to the faithful performance of the treaty, but, equally with Ormond, were vested with powers, in relation to the levying of soldiers, raising money, and all other points of civil authority.

THIS business had scarcely been concluded, when intelligence of the King's death reached Ireland. This awful catastrophe, which, in all its circumstances, was unprecedented in the history of mankind, made upon the minds of the people of both countries, very different impressions. The Presbyterians, who had opposed the King, not with a view to extinguish monarchy, but to restrain the prerogative within constitutional limits, were much displeased with it. The royalists, who considered all resistance

to the will of majesty, not only as unjust, but highly criminal, beheld it with indignation, as an act of cruelty, which should bring down upon all concerned in it, the vengeance of heaven. On the other hand, the independents exulted in it, as a most meritorious sacrifice to the violated rights of a free people.

WITH respect to the question considered in itself, whether Charles merited death? It must be answered in the negative; if he possessed the throne, by an indefeasible hereditary right; if the privilege, by which he was constituted sovereign, raised him superior to law; if he was not confined by its obligations; if, whatever might be the measures of his government, passive obedience, and non resistance were due to him, by his subjects, and he might violate their liberty, without being accountable for his conduct, at the bar of any human tribunal. But we must answer it in the affirmative, if the powers which he enjoyed, as king, were derived to him from the people; if he was placed over them, by Providence, to be the guardian of their rights, to be their common father, not to make them the instruments of those detestable measures, which result from pride, from ambition, and the love of arbitrary power. We must answer it in the affirmative, if princes do not cease to be men, if the rules of justice ought to be equally sacred to them, with the rest of their fellow creatures; if the peace, the property, the lives of millions, may not be sacrificed to the passions of a single individual.

It may be said, that the despotic measures of Charles, commenced almost with the day on which he ascended the English throne. He quarrelled with his first, and every succeeding parliament, in consequence of his attempts to deprive them and the people

ple of their just privileges. He extorted money from his subjects, by a violent stretch of prerogative; those who refused to comply with his imperious demands, he punished by the sentence of courts, established on principles arbitrary and unconstitutional. He made the most flagrant attack on the liberties of Scotland. With respect to Ireland, the tyrannical government of Lord Strafford, was guided by his instructions. During the whole of his administration, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, complained, and justly, of violated rights. The injuries which the latter suffered from him, provoked their resentment, and awakened in them, a sense of their former grievances, and the confusions of England, of which he was the original cause, were among the leading circumstances, which gave occasion to the insurrection. For the thousands, in both kingdoms, who perished by the civil war; for the ten thousands who were robbed by it, of their property, and reduced to the most distressing circumstances, the life of one man was a small atonement.

BUT, in respect to the authority of the tribunal, by which he was tried, it was most exceptionable.

As the people at large had been injured, none but those invested fairly with authority by them, and by whom they were adequately represented, together with the peers of the realm, had a right, by the principles of reason and the constitution, to preside over such an unprecedented, such an awful and solemn act of national justice. Some time before the trial, an hundred members of the house of commons had been violently expelled. The ninety which remained, were not only totally inadequate, as the representatives of the people, but subject to military controul, and too much under the influence of that ambition, which was the cause of those uncon-

stitutional measures in the government of Charles, for which he was condemned.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XXVIII.

UPON the death of his father, Charles the Second was proclaimed king, by Ormond, at Youghal and Carrick, which example, was followed, in all the other parts of Ireland, in possession of the royalists. But their cause declined apace. One 1748. circumstance now took place, which, had it happened sooner, would have been very conducive to it's interest. Rinuncini had left the kingdom, finding that the death of the late King had heightened against him, the resentment of the more moderate Roman Catholics, who foresaw, that this event was likely to extinguish all hopes of those advantages, of which his obstinacy had deprived them. But, before his departure, his spirit was too universally diffused, and had made too deep an impression on the minds of his partizans, to be quickly eradicated. In particular, O'Nial was a thorough convert to his principles. He would have been a considerable acquisition, to the royal cause, could Ormond have prevailed with him to enter into his views, but that he could not accomplish,

SIR Charles Coote, having got possession of Derry, held it, in behalf of the parliament, and General Monck, being detached by them to the North, with a body of forces, had seized Carrickfergus. Probably, neither of these schemes would have been effected, had not the state of their affairs, made it necessary for the Scotch government to recall a considerable part of their troops from Ulster. To those of them who remained, from a dependence on the displeasure

displeasure which they had conceived, at the late revolution of affairs in England, Ormond applied for assistance. A number of their officers were disposed to comply with his desire. Could he have sent them an escort of horse, for their security, they would have led a body of troops to his aid; but he found himself unable to accomplish this, so had no resource, but the forces stipulated by the confederates. The men they promised, could have been easily procured, but, in raising the necessary supplies, there was great difficulty. Much backwardness was discovered, by the several 1649. districts, in the payment of their respective proportions, and those employed to superintend the business, were unfaithful.

ABOUT this time, an English fleet arrived at Kinsale, a circumstance from which Ormond might have derived much advantage, had Prince Rupert, by whom it was commanded, been disposed to promote his interest, and to act with the prudence and moderation, which the critical state of their affairs so much required. But, being a rigid Catholic, and at the same time, of a haughty untractable temper, he treated the Protestants with much incivility. His conduct was very offensive to them. To forward the views of O'Nial was more agreeable to him, than to promote the interest of the Marquiss, or of those who were influenced by moderate sentiments. It was an object of consequence to block up the principal harbours, and prevent the parliamentarians from receiving reinforcements, and other necessary supplies. Prince Rupert was requested to employ his ships in this service; but to no purpose. Some time after, he was himself blocked up by a fleet of the parliament, in which situation he continued all Summer.

CHARLES was at this time, at the Hague. Ormond had urged him to come over to Ireland, from a persuasion that his presence would have raised the spirits of his friends, and in other respects, have served his cause essentially. With this advice he was resolved to comply; but being disappointed of the necessary supplies, which he expected either from France or Holland, he was forced to drop the design.

WHEN the season of the year for action arrived, Ormond, having collected eight thousand men, and borrowed, for the service, from his friends, a small sum of money, took the field. He reduced Kildare and some other inconsiderable places, after which, being reinforced by two thousand men, he led his troops to the capital, where he had many friends, the reduction of which would have been a matter of the greatest consequence. To prevent the enemy in the neighbourhood from disturbing him in his future operations, he sent off towards Drogheda, a detachment under the command of Inchiquin, his lieutenant general, who routed a body of cavalry, which had been dispatched to that place by Jones, and reduced the town. Encouraged by this success, he led his men northwards. Having possessed himself of Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford and Greencastle, he returned to Finglas, where Ormond with his troops was encamped.

THE parliament, convinced of how great importance, the preservation of Dublin was to their cause in this country, had sent over to Jones, two thousand foot and six hundred horse, with money and other necessaries. But there was another circumstance, still more discouraging to Ormond. The royal garrisons in Munster, were in a very weak condition, and certain intelligence had arrived, that Oliver Cromwell,

Cromwell, one of the parliament generals, lay at Bristol, with a large army, ready to embark for that province. Thither Ormond was obliged to detach Inchiquin with three regiments of horse. The remainder of the army, which lay encamped in the vicinity of Dublin, was by no means sufficiently strong, to form a regular siege. The only means, by which the royalists could accomplish their design, was, by cutting off the enemy from subsistence, and preventing them from being reinforced by additional succours. In order to this, it was thought to be a matter of consequence, to possess and fortify, a castle called Baggatrath, situated at a little distance from the town. Purcell was sent upon this service, with fifteen hundred foot, late in the evening. The distance from the camp was only a mile, but, from the unfaithfulness of his guide, some considerable time was spent, before he reached the castle; he took possession of it, but had made little progress in fortifying it when the morning appeared. Jones, on perceiving what was done, immediately attacked the detachment, dislodged, and pursued it to the main body of the army, which was seized by a sudden panic, and fled from all quarters. In this battle, which happened in the end of July, Ormond lost only six hundred men. But, which was of the greatest consequence, he lost all his baggage, tent equipage, ammunition and arms. He now retired to Ballyshannon, which he reduced. From thence, he marched to Kilkenny; where having assembled as many of his broken army as could be collected, and being reinforced by three hundred horse, he advanced to Trim. Colonel Jones had invested Drogheda, this movement obliged him to raise the siege.

DURING

DURING these transactions, the English forces in Ulster, who, for some time after the death of Charles, were undecided in their resolutions, with respect to the party in whose favour they should declare, had determined to support the royal cause, and besieged Sir Charles Coote in Derry.

NOTWITHSTANDING the aversion, which the parliament of England had discovered to the Roman Catholics, you have seen that Jones had formed a connexion with O'Nial; to the same general, Coote, in the present emergence, applied for assistance. Tempted by the promise of five thousand pounds, O'Nial put his army in motion and advanced towards Derry. Upon his approach, the English forces broke up their camp and raised the siege.

Farewell.

LETTER XXIX.

THE present misfortunes of Ormond, were the natural consequence of his situation. His troops were quite incompetent, in numbers and in necessary supplies, to the service in which they had engaged; they were divided in their sentiments, and his authority subject to the perpetual controul, of the commissioners of trust. In consequence of the defeat at Rathmines, the spirits of his party were depressed, and the contributions, which before had been very backward, were paid with still more reluctance. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, the Marquis exerted himself in every quarter, in collecting forces, and making all other preparations, with a view to attempt, once more, the reduction of Dublin, but the design proved abortive.

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By arts of consummate address, by hypocrisy, by his courage and distinguished military abilities, Oliver Cromwell, in the course of the civil war, had acquired greater influence, than any other of the popular leaders, and raised himself to a high command in the parliament army. In breaking the strength, and procuring the death of the late King, he had been a very active instrument. But his exertions did not proceed from a hatred of tyranny, or a desire to promote the public cause; they were all interested; his heart was corrupted by ambition; in order to have an opportunity of gratifying, still farther, this his predominant passion, he got himself appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and made commander in chief of the forces, which the parliament were now enabled to send there, to put an end to the war. He embarked at Bristol, and on the fifteenth of August, landed at Dublin, to which, instead of Munster, for which he designed, he was driven by a strong gale. He brought with him eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, a considerable sum of money, and other necessaries. His first act of government, was to issue a proclamation of pardon, to all who would lay down their arms, and submit to the parliament. Many accepted of it. Having appointed Theophilus Jones governor of Dublin, and adjusted those civil matters, which required his attention, he put his army in motion, and laid siege to Drogheda. Ormond being aware of this, had taken care to repair the fortifications of that city, to furnish it with necessaries, and a garrison of two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, which he placed under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, an officer of distinguished reputation. He had likewise strengthened his little remaining army, by a reinforcement, from the troops of Inchiquin,
with

with which he advanced to Portlester, to be ready, if an opportunity offered, to give assistance to the town. But these precautions were useless. Cromwell led his artillery to the walls, in which, he in two days, made a considerable breach. He immediately assaulted the town, and took it by storm. Quarter had been promised to all who would lay down their arms, notwithstanding, by order of their most inhuman general, the conquerors put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword, without regard to sex, age, or condition. Five days were spent in this bloody massacre. Ormond, in one of his letters on the subject of this horrid scene, says, "the cruelties, committed by Cromwell, on this occasion, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity, as are to be found in the book of martyrs, or in the relation of the massacre of Amboyna." The intended effect of this detestable example, was fully accomplished. Trim, Dundalk, Carlingford, Newry, Lisburn, Belfast, Coleraine, were all, in a very short time, surrendered to Cromwell. He next directed his march through the province of Leinster, preserving a communication with the fleet, which coasted along the shore, to protect his army on that quarter, and to furnish it with the necessary supplies. Every place, through which he passed, submitted to his arms. Ormond had found means to throw into Wicklow, a reinforcement of two thousand men; but the treachery of the governor, rendered this effort to save it ineffectual. Wexford was taken in September, whose wretched inhabitants shared the same melancholy fate with those of Drogheda. This inhuman man, has left the remembrance of his cruelty, in the minds of Irishmen, written in deep characters of blood.

ROSS,

Ross, upon the river Barrow, was the next scene of his military operations, which, upon terms, was also delivered up to him. Previous to this, Cromwell had detached a body of forces, to lay siege to the fort of Duncannon; here a stop was put to the progress of his arms. The garrison defended themselves with spirit. A severe season, encreased the difficulties of his soldiers, many of whom fell victims to an infectious disorder. As a reinforcement, fifteen hundred men were sent to him from Dublin; Inchiquin attacked them in their march, and was defeated. They advanced, and arrived safe at Duncannon. Notwithstanding, Wogan, the governor, persisted in his defence. His conduct was marked by distinguished magnanimity. Lord Castlehaven, by a stroke of generalship, saved Duncannon. That nobleman, who held in the service of the confederates a principal command, found means of getting into the fort. He viewed the situation of the enemy, and formed a scheme, which he immediately put in execution. In the beginning of the night, he conveyed into the fort, eighty horses, which he mounted with an equal number of officers. These sallied forth, made great slaughter of the enemy, and retired before the morning. The English knew, that there were no horse in Duncannon, therefore supposed, that the assault had been made by a reinforcement of the enemy, arrived for the relief of Duncannon. Alarmed by this apprehension, they raised the siege.

ORMOND was obliged in a great measure to lie inactive during these transactions. During the remainder of the Summer, after Cromwell's arrival, being deficient in force, and in every necessary, and continually thwarted by the commissioners of trust, who watched all his motions with a suspicious eye, he

he was incapable of opposing his operations. In the beginning of Winter, when it was necessary to distribute his troops into quarters, and he proposed to dispose of them in the manner most conducive to the security of the garrisons, those belonging to the confederates absolutely refused to admit, within their walls, Protestant soldiers. In consequence of this obstinacy, they were rendered much less capable of defence. At last, Ormond was enabled to draw together a body of forces, which were strengthened by a considerable reinforcement, from the army of O'Nial, with whom he had lately concluded an accommodation, and who died himself shortly after. He now took the field, and perceiving that Cromwell had passed the Barrow, and was advancing towards Kilkenny, determined, if possible, to bring him to an engagement; but, of a sudden, he turned aside over the Suir, with a resolution to besiege Waterford. Ormond had the address to convey into the town, fifteen hundred Catholic soldiers; no other would be received. Cromwell having made himself master of the fort of Passage, the garrison of Waterford began to be alarmed. Ormond hastened to its assistance from Clonmell. Upon his approach, Cromwell raised the siege. Whatever hopes the royalists might have entertained, from this disappointment of the English general, they were speedily blasted.

LORD Broghill, son to the Earl of Cork, had gone over to England, to attend the fortunes of Charles, whose interest, on all occasions, he had warmly espoused. Cromwell seized him by surprise, told him he was well acquainted with his designs, and that he must either embrace the interest of the parliament, or be sent prisoner to the Tower. Broghill preferred the former of these alternatives,

ternatives, in consequence of which, he was set at liberty, and came over to Ireland, determined to give substantial proofs of his zeal, for the cause in which he had now engaged. He served it most effectually, for, by practising secretly with the Protestants of Munster, he prevailed with them, to detach themselves from the Irish, and to deliver up their principal towns into the hands of Oliver Cromwell. By this revolution, the Protestant cause was not only considerably strengthened, but his soldiers were accommodated in quarters for the Winter, much more comfortable than they could otherwise have procured.

MUTUAL deep rooted jealousies, had prevented the loyalists of the Protestant and Roman Catholic persuasion, from uniting with any degree of confidence or affection. The slender ties by which they had been connected, were now almost entirely dissolved. Suspicion of the Protestants became general. Ormond felt the change most severely, which had taken place in Munster, and the consequent alienation of the Roman Catholics. Necessity compelled him to quit the field.

THE factious spirit of these contending parties ruined their own cause. They were full of distrust and jealousy. The Roman Catholics opposed Ormond, and this opposition was chiefly raised by the artifices of the Marquis of Antrim, who wished to rise on his ruin. Antrim, we have seen, was made lieutenant general, by the assembly at Kilkenny. This office he relinquished in disgust. Afterwards, he was appointed by them, to a command in the northern army, of which, for his vanity and misconduct, they deprived him. Filled with resentment for this affront, he had united himself intimately with the Nuncio and O'Nial, and laboured to support their

their measures. By that party, he was promised to be made lord lieutenant of Ireland, in the place of Ormond, if their designs were successful. Hence, to open a way to the gratification of his own vanity and ambition, he used every means to undermine the the authority, and to defeat the measures of Ormond. He engaged in his interest the commissioners of trust, who entered into his views, and even, to gratify him, advanced a charge of misconduct against the Marquiss. Ormond submitted to the accusation, but nothing was proved by his enemies, to his disadvantage.

SOME time before, the English parliament passed an act to prohibit the importation, from France, of wines, of wool and silks, not only into England, and the dominions dependant on it, but also into Ireland.

Adieu.

L E T T E R XXX.

CROMWELL knew that the state of affairs in England, made it necessary for him to return thither as soon as possible. Determined, therefore, to push forward his military operations, he took the field in the end of February, and 1650. having collected a considerable force, sat down before the city of Kilkenny. Some time before, he had made an unsuccessful attempt upon it. Many of the inhabitants had fallen victims to an epidemical distemper, which had obliged Castlehaven to evacuate it, and to carry with him a considerable part of the garrison. The remainder amounted to little more than four hundred men. Inconsiderable as they were, they exerted themselves with spirit. But Cromwell held a private correspondence with

with the citizens, in consequence of which, the garrison was forced to capitulate. They obtained from the conqueror honourable terms.

CLONMELL was next invested by Cromwell. Here his courage and resolution were put to a severe tryal. In the first attack, he lost two thousand men. Hugh O'Nial, a brave officer, commanded in the town; he had under him a brave garrison, with which, he determined to discharge the trust reposed in him, with fidelity. Ormond used every means in his power to preserve the place; he detached for it's assistance, a body of men, under the command of Lord Roche, but, in their march, they were attacked by Broghill and defeated. After O'Nial had defended the town two months, want of provisions obliged him to draw off the garrison to Waterford, upon which it surrendered.

THE Catholic Bishop of Ross had been very active, in exciting the inhabitants and garrison of Waterford, to defend themselves with courage. He was taken prisoner. Broghill, into whose hands he fell, told him, that if he would persuade a neighbouring fort to surrender, he would spare his life. The Bishop went, but instead of advising the garrison to surrender, he exhorted them to oppose the enemy with firmness. For this, Broghill punished him with death. An action of a similar kind, has handed down the name of a brave Roman, with honor, to posterity.

AT this time, the Marquis of Clanricarde would have put himself at the head of the royalists, of the Catholic persuasion in Ulster, with a view to unite them in an attempt, to raise the declining cause of Charles in that province. But they would not submit to his command. They chose for their leader, the titular Bishop of Clogher, to whom Ormond, who

who had, on former occasions, experienced his zeal for the King, sent a commission, vesting him with powers to act in that capacity. He was zealous in the cause, and had considerable influence with the Irish, but was by no means possessed of that temper or military skill, necessary to qualify him for such a station. After traversing several parts of the counties of Derry, Tyrone and Donegal, without performing any action of consequence, he was drawn into an engagement with Sir Charles Coote, near Letterkenny, defeated, taken prisoner, and executed by order of the English parliament.

By this time, Charles had put himself under the protection of the Scots, who threatened to invade England. Upon this intelligence, Cromwell hastened from Ireland, leaving Ireton in his place, to pursue the operations necessary to the entire reduction of the kingdom. To Ireton, Cromwell, who was continued lord lieutenant, joined Colonel Jones and two others, as commissioners for directing civil affairs.

THE progress of Cromwell's arms had been very rapid. Besides his success in Leinster and the Southern province, Ulster was now entirely subject to the parliament. Still however, the whole of Connaught, and several other places of consequence, in the other provinces, were in the hands of the Irish. Whilst any hope of success remained, Ormond determined not to relinquish the cause in which he had engaged. But his difficulties increased to such a degree, as to disappoint all his expectations.

LIMERICK was a place of much importance to the royalists, but, at present, in a defenceless state. Here he wished much to introduce a garrison. But it would not be received. Some of the inhabitants were gained over to the parliament; others of them
would

would have no connexion with Protestants. After the example of Limerick, Galway refused to admit Lord Clanricarde with a body of troops, unless he would place them under the command of the city.

CHARLES, to ingratiate himself with the Scots, had, in one of his public declarations, acknowledged, "that the misfortunes of his father, had arisen from his having sinfully married into an idolatrous family, and at the same time, expressed his abhorrence of the peace, which he had made with the Irish Roman Catholics, and ratified himself, asserting it to be void, having been entered into with bloody and idolatrous rebels." This act of shameful hypocrisy, was exceedingly offensive to the Irish, who were before, in a great measure, alienated from his cause.

THOSE of the Catholic clergy, who had been most industrious in counteracting the views of Ormond, now openly took the lead in public affairs. Blind to their present situation, and still more discouraging prospects, they resolved to break off from all connexion with the Marquis. In August, they assembled at Jamestown, where it was moved, that he should quit the kingdom, and leave his authority in the hands of some person, or persons, faithful to his Majesty, and trusty to the nation, who possessed the confidence and the affections of the people. To this, they added a public declaration, in which they reflect severely on his government, and enjoin the people to obey no orders, but such as were issued by them. All who should transgress this act of assumed authority, they excommunicated. The principles and sentiments of these ecclesiastics were not changed, nor their influence weakened by the proceedings of the assembly of confederates, which was convened soon after. The little authority over the

Irish, which had remained with Ormond, was now annihilated. Every officer of that persuasion, except the captain of the guard deserted him. All the Protestants were required to leave the kingdom. Besides their former acquisitions, Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Carlow, Waterford, and the important fort of Duncannon, were by this time in possession of the parliament. Sir Charles Coote had advanced with a powerful army to Athlone, and another body of their troops was ready to pass the Shannon, and to overrun the province of Connaught.

ALL the efforts of Ormond with the Roman Catholics, to induce them to adopt more moderate counsels, being ineffectual, and of course all his hopes extinguished, he appointed Clanricarde his deputy, with a discretionary power, to accept of the office or not, as he might see cause, and, accompanied by Inchiquin, and a number of Protestant officers, embarked for France. In the bay of Galway, he received a declaration, containing new propositions, dispatched after him by the general assembly. There was nothing in it to make him change his intention. Referring it to Lord Clanricarde, he proceeded to sea, and, after a disagreeable voyage, arrived in Bretagne.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XXXI.

WITH a saving of their privileges, the Roman Catholics agreed to submit to the government of Lord Clanricarde. Though he considered the exception as not friendly, to the authority which belonged to the office of deputy, yet not being able to bring them to better terms, he accepted
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of the appointment. The present appeared to Iretton, a favourable opportunity for attempting an accommodation with the confederates; he sent commissioners to them for that purpose, but his proposals were rejected.

THERE was another treaty in agitation, which the Roman Catholics were much more solicitous, to bring to a favourable conclusion. Of the foreign powers, from whom they asked assistance, they had applied to the Duke of Lorrain, a Catholic prince, to take them and their cause under his protection. This application flattered the vanity of Lorrain. He also knew, that by interesting himself in the concerns of the Irish, he would recommend himself to the Pope, whom he was soliciting to disannul a former marriage, and to legitimate the children of a second wife, his first being alive, at the time of his union with the other. As a mark of his good will, he had advanced to the Irish five thousand pounds, and now sent over an envoy to settle the terms, on which he was to give them farther assistance. To deliberate on this subject, a meeting of the principal Roman Catholics was convened at Galway. The sum of the terms proposed by the envoy was, that if his master advanced money sufficient for defraying the expence of the war, and took such steps as were necessary to the defence of the Irish nation, certain towns should be put into his hands, as a security until he was reimbursed; that he should be vested with the title of protector royal of Ireland, with extensive civil powers, and an absolute command over the military force of the kingdom; that perpetual, obsequious and faithful duty should be paid to the apostolic see.

THESE conditions were approved by the Roman Catholics. Clanricarde, considering them as inju-

rious to his Majesty's prerogative, declared them to be inadmissible, and sent deputies to Lorrain to settle the affair, on terms consistent with the King's honor, and the interest of the nation. The other party, with whom the clergy had a leading influence, sent an agent likewise. Lord Taafe, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Geoffry Brown, were the commissioners from Clanricarde; the clergy, and those connected with them, employed, as their deputy, the bishop of Ferns.

UPON their arrival at Brussels, Lord Taafe set off for Paris, to consult with the Queen and Duke of York, upon the business of their embassy. In his absence, Plunket and Brown were prevailed with by the bishop, to conclude a treaty with Lorrain, on terms of the same import with those, which had been proposed by his envoy at Galway. Against this, Clanricarde entered his protest, with which the affair ended.

DURING this transaction, which happened in Winter, Ireton was employed in making preparations, for prosecuting the war on the return of 1651. spring. On the opening of the campaign, Sir Charles Coote passed the Shannon and invested Athlone, which, notwithstanding the efforts of Lord Clanricarde, was obliged to surrender. He then advanced forward into Connaught, with his military operations. Whilst Sir Charles was thus employed in that quarter, Ireton not intimidated by an unsuccessful attack, which he had made upon it the preceding Summer, led his forces into Munster, and laid siege to Limerick. Clanricarde had offered to shut himself up in the town, with a body of forces, and share it's fate. The citizens rejected this proposal, and would only receive a few soldiers of their own choice, which they placed under the command of

of Hugh O'Nial, who had gained such reputation by his spirited defence of Clonmell. On the present occasion, he acquitted himself with equal magnanimity. Lord Muskerry had collected a considerable force, with which he was advancing to the relief of Limerick, but he was attacked in his march, and defeated. Not discouraged by this misfortune, O'Nial determined to persevere in the defence of the town,

BUT some of the inhabitants, as was before observed, were disaffected to the royal cause; these made a vigorous effort, seized the cannon, and turned them upon the garrison, which, by this circumstance and the distress occasioned by a pestilential disorder, was obliged to surrender. Seventeen persons were excluded from the benefit of the terms of capitulation, one of whom was the brave O'Nial. Through the influence of Ireton, he was twice found guilty of death, by the judgement of a court martial. But a number of the officers, to their distinguished honor, having persisted in their opposition to the sentence, he was acquitted. Sir Geoffry Barrow was another who was excepted from the conditions. When he was asked by the court, why he should not be condemned; he answered with magnanimity, "Because he had been engaged in the same cause with the parliament, fighting in defence of the religion and liberties of his country." His defence was unanswerable. But to the disgrace of those, upon whose power his life unfortunately depended, he was executed.

IRETON did not live to improve the advantage he had obtained, by the reduction of Limerick. He fell a sacrifice to the epidemical distemper, we have mentioned, and which now extended to several parts of the kingdom.

THE design which Cromwell had conceived, against the liberties of England, was now completely formed; having sounded Ludlow privately, with respect to it, and found that it did not meet with his approbation, to get clear of him, he had him sent over to this country, to command the army in the place of Ireton.

FROM the year sixteen hundred and forty eight, the English parliament had engrossed all the power, and usurped every privilege of the Irish constitution. To Cromwell they joined Ludlow, Major General Ireton, Colonel John Jones, and Miles Corbet, as commissioners for administering the civil affairs of this kingdom. Besides other powers, they were vested with authority to levy money, and to form a code of criminal law, for the direction of the courts of justice. To assist them in the execution of their office, they appointed sub-commissioners for the several towns and districts.

LUDLOW, in his military capacity, determined to proceed with vigour in the steps of his predecessor. Previous to the following campaign, he issued orders, by which all persons were forbidden to assist the enemy with provisions, and every person enjoined not to depart from their quarters at their peril. Those, from the landing of Cromwell, who had deserted the English and joined with the Roman Catholics, were exempted from mercy by proclamation. The severity with which this declaration, and those orders were executed, made a deep impression on the Irish, who were now willing to propose terms of accommodation, but none would be accepted.

IN May, sixteen hundred and fifty two, Sir Charles Coote led his forces to Galway, which, being deserted by Preston, it's governor, destitute in itself
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of the means of defence, and unassisted by the Irish, soon surrendered.

DISPIRITED by the gloomy prospect of their affairs, many of the Irish laid aside all thoughts of continuing the war. A considerable number of the soldiers submitted to Ludlow, upon condition of being permitted to transport themselves to the Continent, and to enter into the service of some prince, in alliance with England. The Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Muskerry, Colonel Fitzpatrick, Colonel O'Dowyer, with three or four thousand others laid down their arms, upon being allowed to enjoy their personal fortune, and such a portion of their real estate, as should afterwards be granted to others in the same circumstances. All the Irish might have had the benefit of these terms; but those of Connaught and Ulster determined to make another effort. Five thousand of them, under the command of Clanricarde and Sir Phelim O'Nial, proceeded to Ballyshannon, which they took, but being surprised by Sir Charles Coote and Colonel Venables, they were forced to retreat into fastnesses, having left in the place a small garrison. Twelve hundred of them were forced to lay down their arms, and Ballyshannon soon after surrendered.

CLANRICARDE sent Lord Castlehaven to Charles, to represent to him, the unfortunate state of his affairs in this kingdom, and to receive instructions, with respect to his future conduct. He was desired to provide for his own safety; upon which, having obtained permission from the parliament of England, he left this country, with a number of his adherents, who chose to partake of his fortune. He retired to England, where he died, in October, sixteen hundred and fifty nine.

Of all the loyalists, none was more zealously attached to the interest of Charles, than the Marquis of Clanricarde. At a time, when every other Roman Catholic of rank in Ireland, either favoured, or had taken up arms, in support of the insurrection of sixteen hundred and forty one, the King reposed such confidence in him, that he permitted him to retain in his service a principal command. This subjected him, in a peculiar manner, to the resentment of his countrymen. The difficulties to which, in the beginning, he was exposed, from their opposition, and that of the parliamentarians, who looked upon him with a very jealous eye, he bore with invincible resolution. When the arms of the insurgents triumphed in the county of Galway, and every part of Connaught, and he could no longer be of use in that quarter, he entered into the most intimate connexion with Ormond, whom he assisted in his perplexities, by his advice, and with all the means in his power. To enable him, by providing for another, to add a new friend to the interest of the King, he was so disinterested as to lay down his office of lieutenant general. He accepted of that of deputy, at a period full of trouble, when the fortune of Charles was reduced to the lowest ebb, and did not leave the kingdom, until all hopes were utterly extinguished. There is every reason to suppose, that he was a man of principle. What a pity it is, that, such virtues were not exerted in a better cause !

Farewell.

LET-

LETTER XXXII.

THE appointment of Ludlow, as general of the Irish forces, was but a temporary expedient. The person on whom Cromwell had fixed his eye, for that purpose, was Fleetwood, who had married his daughter, the widow of Ireton, in whose attachment to his interest, he flattered himself, he might place entire confidence. Lambert was the person whom the parliament had designed, for the command of the troops in Ireland, but by the address of Cromwell, he was denied the title of lord lieutenant, in consequence of which, he gave up the appointment in disgust, and Fleetwood was substituted in his place.

VESTED with the power of commander in chief, and as a commissioner for directing civil affairs, he came over to this country. He had now very little to do, except in the latter capacity, for the strength of the Irish and of the Protestant loyalists, was entirely broken.

COMMISSIONERS were appointed, for the trial of those who had been charged with crimes, since the beginning of the insurrection, to enquire concerning the forfeited lands, and give grants to those, who by their services, had merited rewards from the English parliament.

By order of the commissioners, high courts of justice were erected in the several provinces. In Ulster, which had been the principal scene of the massacre, none died by the hand of the executioner, but Sir Phelim O'Nial, whose cruelties were a disgrace to his character as a gentleman, to his rank as an officer, and most dishonourable to the cause in which he was engaged. Upon his trial, he was charged

charged with having produced the King's commission, authorising the insurrection. He confessed he had, but declared it to be a forgery. He was told, that if he could produce any material proof, that he had such a commission from his Majesty, he would be restored to his liberty and estate. To the very last, he persisted in his first declaration. There was no evidence to prove the reality of this supposed commission. The officer, as we are informed by Burnet, who at that time had the great seal in keeping, and through whose hands it must have passed, denied that he had ever seen it. Had the insurrection been conducive to his interest, Charles might have encouraged it; would he give the sanction of his authority to that, which in the beginning, and almost through every stage, had a pernicious influence on his affairs? The letter written by his order, by Secretary Vane, to the Lords Justices, previous to the insurrection, already mentioned, which pointed out certain grounds of suspicion with respect to it, and how necessary it was for them to guard the public tranquillity with a watchful eye, seems to place this matter beyond all doubt.

BUT, to return to the tryals. In Leinster, and in the Southern and Western provinces, none of rank were condemned, except Lord Mayo and Colonel William Bagnal. Two hundred of the lower class were executed. Besides these, you recollect that several hundreds were tried, and had suffered in the first year of the insurrection. Betwixt that and the present period, a number of those who were guilty, escaped from the kingdom, others of them were dead. Some were excluded from pardon, with respect to either life or estate, of which number were the Marquis of Ormond, Inchiquin, Bramhal Bishop of Derry, and the Earl of Roscommon.

LORD

LORD Macguire, instead of being remitted to the judgment of his peers, in his own country, was sent over to England. Upon being called to tryal there, before the court of king's bench, he pleaded that, being a peer of the Irish parliament, he was not subject to their jurisdiction. This objection was not sustained by the court, who asserted, that a baron of Ireland might be tried by a jury in England. This opinion was supported by a vote of the house of commons, which being sent to the Lords, had also the sanction of their approbation. He was accordingly, in violation of his privilege, and of his rights as an Irishman, compelled to submit to the judgment of an English jury. He was condemned. The heart is moved with pity, by the manner in which this unfortunate peer was treated, previous to his execution. Being a Roman Catholic, he wished to have the comfort and the instructions, of a clergyman of his own persuasion, to help him in preparing for the awful scene before him. This desire would not be gratified. He urged his request; but in vain. With bitter reflexions on his religion and it's ministers, he was told, he should have the assistance of a Protestant divine. Accordingly, a Protestant divine forced upon him his admonitions, to the great discomposure of his mind, even in his last moments. Those capable of behaving with such detestable insincerity, were a disgrace to the name of Protestant.

THE next object which engaged the attention of the commissioners, was the ascertaining and distributing the forfeited lands. In order to this, a court of claims sat in Dublin. Other similar courts were established in different parts of the kingdom.

THE forfeited lands in Ulster, in Leinster, and the Southern province, were laid out in separate proportions, part of which was divided among the soldiers
and

and English adventurers. Of the church lands, a proportion was applied to encrease the revenues of the college. What remained of the forfeitures, were left to be disposed of at the discretion of the parliament. A large tract of barren land, in the province of Connaught, which, by the plague, and by the calamities of war, had been almost desolate of inhabitants, was set apart for the Irish. These wretched people were commanded, to bid farewell to the place of their nativity, to all the objects of their dearest affection, and to retire thither against a certain day, upon the penalty of death. The part assigned to each individual, was in proportion to that from which he had been expelled, of his right and title to which, he was obliged to give a release to the conquerors, to cut off from himself and his posterity, all claim of being restored to the possession of it. In this distribution, none had a fifth of their former property. Some of them had a competent livelihood, whilst others, of which the number was by far the greatest, had not wherewith to supply the common necessities of life. The authors of this proscription, by such an act of ruthless inhumanity, have entailed upon their memory everlasting disgrace. In September, the parliament of England passed an act, by which the above distribution of land was pretended to be confirmed, and it was declared, that the rebellion in Ireland was appeased, subdued and ended.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

CROMWELL, during these transactions, had brought all his schemes to maturity, and raised himself to the pinnacle of dominion, to which they
aimed,

aimed, as the supreme gratification of his boundless ambition. He had dissolved the long parliament in the most arbitrary manner, and called another, which because they did not coincide with his views, he dissolved also.

UPON this, the council of officers declared him to be Protector of the Commonwealth, of the three kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland. Men of the same principles of the tyrant, with whom selfish considerations prevailed, over every obligation of virtue and honor, approved this act of despotism, whilst by the loyalists, and by all those who were interested, in the cause of liberty and their country, it was severely and loudly condemned.

IN this country, through the influence of Fleetwood, the commissioners, and a few of the principal officers, who were consulted upon the occasion, Cromwell was, with great difficulty, declared protector. To regulate the political interests of the empire, a form was drawn up by Oliver and his friends, called the instrument of government. By this it was determined, that England, Scotland and Ireland, should elect a certain number of members to meet in parliament, as the representatives of one united commonwealth. Of these, thirty were to be returned for Ireland. As must ever be the case, where the representation is in itself so inadequate, and the delegates from a part of an empire, bear so inconsiderable a proportion to the whole legislative body, those chosen for Ireland were under the influence of government, and contributed to the support of it.

FOR the more effectual security of his power, Cromwell dismissed from their office, the Irish commissioners, employed in the management of civil affairs, and constituted Fleetwood deputy, for three
years,

years. A short time after, he sent over to Ireland, Henry his second son, in a military capacity. As he was acquainted with the affairs of this country, where he had been some time before, was a man of ability, of conciliating dispositions, and had a capacity for government, he removed Fleetwood, and vested him with the powers of lord lieutenant.

THE officers of the army were discontented, having received rewards, which they did not think adequate to their services. Numbers of others were much dissatisfied with the late revolution.

MANIFOLD were the distresses of the kingdom. The late pestilence had occasioned much desolation, notwithstanding, the taxes were heavy, to defray the public expence, and to enable Oliver to reward his favourite partizans. Yet so wise, so just and benevolent, was the administration of Henry, that the disaffected gave no disturbance to government.

DURING the short usurpation of Cromwell, by his spirited and dexterous management, the affairs of Britain were in a most prosperous state, at home and abroad. But he found, from wretched experience, that wordly honours, and the highest gratifications of ambition, when purchased, as the wages of iniquity, cannot either constitute or secure human happiness. The apprehension of the merited punishment of his crimes, and the terrors of a guilty conscience, clouded all his flattering prospects, embittered his peace, and haunted him to the grave. He died of a tertian ague, on the third of September, sixteen hundred and fifty eight.

UPON this event, Richard Cromwell, succeeded to the title, and to the powers with which his father had been invested. But he wanted abilities for an office, which required a degree of spirit, of cleverness and political sagacity, to which the bold and extensive

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five genius of his father, was not more than equal. He severely felt the weight of government, until he shrunk from it. The protectorate was dissolved, the commonwealth restored, and the long parliament re-instated in its privileges, by whose authority, Henry Cromwell was recalled from Ireland, the former commissioners substituted in his place, and the command of the military committed to Ludlow. Ludlow, than whom none of the opposers of Charles, was more sincere, more zealous, or more constant to the principles of British liberty, used every possible means to re-establish in this country, the authority of the parliament. He dismissed disaffected officers, and substituted in their places, those on whom he could depend. He made a proper distribution of the forces; he furnished the garrisons with ammunition and provisions, and established, in each county, a numerous militia.

THE English parliament, having required help to quell an insurrection raised, in favour of Charles, by Sir George Booth and other royalists, he sent over to their assistance, a thousand foot and five hundred horse. This commotion was scarcely suppressed, when Colonel Lambert, to gratify his ambition, and from resentment to the house of commons, for not raising him to a higher command, promoted among the officers of his brigade, a petition to parliament, reflecting on their conduct, and desiring them to relinquish their power, in order, as they pretended, that the people might establish the government, in a manner more agreeable to their wishes. Copies of this petition were transmitted to Ireland, with a view to obtain the concurrence of the army. Upon which, Ludlow convened a meeting of as many officers as he could collect, pointed out to them the nature, the object and the tendency of this measure,

sure, in such a light, that they concurred in a counter petition to the parliament, in which, they declare themselves willing to lay down their lives, in their service, and in support of the interest of the state. Having thus endeavoured to settle matters in this kingdom, in the manner most agreeable to his wishes, the General placed Colonel Jones at the head of the army, and passed over to England, where his advice and assistance were much wanted.

WITH the dissolution of the protectorate, the royalists began to entertain flattering hopes, that their cause would at length revive, and be crowned with success. In order to this, they concerted the most prudential, and the most politic schemes, and conducted them with zeal, with secrecy and the most profound dissimulation. They communicated their views to Ireland, where they were adopted by those of the old English race, the more moderate of the confederated Irish, and a considerable number of Protestants. The severity of the commissioners to such as were hostile to their principles, and particularly, the resentment of the officers whom Ludlow, on the same account, had dismissed from the army, strengthened and diffused that spirit. Broghill had long been a zealous friend to Charles, whose cause, when trepanned by Cromwell, he had deserted from necessity. With the prospect of success, his old principles revived, in support of which, he determined to take an active part. Sir Charles Coote, an instrument of Monk, with whom he carried on a private correspondence, entered with zeal into his schemes. With some friends privy to their design, they assembled in Dublin, under pretence of petitioning government, made a sudden attack upon the castle, of which they possessed themselves. Sir Hardress Waller wrested it from their hands, but

but they again got possession of it, took Sir Har-
drefs, Jones, and some other active partizans of the
opposite cause, and sent them over prisoners to
England. The torrent was too violent to be stop-
ped in it's course, by the feeble exertions of the old
Irish Catholics, and a few zealous republicans. In a
short time, not only Dublin but Galway, Athlone,
and all the principal towns in Ireland, were in the
hands of the royalists, who, imitating the exam-
ple of their friends in England, and with the same
views, united in declaring for a free parliament. A
council of officers called together a convention of
estates, who, influenced by the same design with
the royalists, presided in the administration of pub-
lic affairs. The scheme was now ripe for executi-
on. Charles had made some general declarations
at Breda, concerning his principles and intentions,
with respect to the privileges of his subjects; in
these, notwithstanding the proofs he had given, of
his being a man destitute of principle, contrary to
sound policy, and all just regard to the rights of
the constitution, the people of England and Ireland
implicitly acquiesced. Anxious to free themselves
from a state of distraction, in which they had been
involved for many years, without considering, that
it was much better to have a little more patience,
than to precipitate themselves into the evils of des-
potism, he was proclaimed sovereign, in the chief
towns of both kingdoms. The proclamation, in this
country, was followed by a loyal address, and by
a present of twenty thousand pounds to his Majesty,
four thousand to the Duke of York, and two thou-
sand to the Duke of Gloucester.

Adieu.

IT is painful to every feeling of humanity, to view the state of this country, from the year sixteen hundred and forty one, to the restoration. During the whole of that period, the mind is not relieved by the intervention of one gleam of public happiness. The dreadful effects of ambition, of a violent party spirit, and of religious bigotry, aggravated by the calamities of civil war, fill up the whole of the scene. Of these, ambition, or a thirst of lawless domination was the original source of all our miseries. This provoked the natives to arms. The history of mankind does not produce an instance, of a government founded in equity, and administered by the principles of justice, being disturbed by a conspiracy of the subjects, similar to the Irish insurrection. The ambition of Charles, which kindled the flame of contention betwixt him and the parliament, extended to this country, multiplied the distractions of the several parties, and aggravated our miseries. By opposing the arbitrary measures of the King, the parliament of England, acted a part worthy of the representatives of a free people; they exhibited a noble example of patriotism, which did honor to their spirit and magnanimity. But power fascinates the heart, and the glorious spirit of freedom is too apt to be limited, and partial in it's exertions, being corrupted by a mixture of human frailty. The love of liberty, an emanation from a Being of the most perfect goodness, never produces it's genuine effects, but when accompanied by that divine principle of benevolence, which would restrain from injury, and animate to promote the happiness of all with whom we are connected

ned. Benevolence, nay a common regard to the rights of men, distributes justice with the strictest impartiality, is equally attentive to the privileges of those, who are not of our religious opinions, as of those who, in this respect, entertain the same sentiments. It is not confined in it's views, does not center it's regard in immediate, whilst it is indifferent to the interest, or violates the rights of more remote connexions. Had the parliament of England acted from these fair and generous principles, the Roman Catholics of Ireland would have ceased to complain, and not only they, but all the advocates for freedom would have united their efforts, in establishing the liberties of both countries, on a solid and permanent foundation. But, as we have frequently observed, religious bigotry, produced in them, with respect to the natives of this country, a spirit of persecution, and they were scarcely in possession of power, when they trampled on our civil privileges.

You will say, that the King committed to them the care of this country, and that if he had not, necessity would have obliged them to interfere in it's concerns. But were the Irish nation the property of his Majesty, which he might transfer or dispose of at pleasure? Could he convey to them, a right that did not belong to him, and which they could not pretend to exercise, without being guilty of usurpation? As to their being obliged to interpose in our affairs, this necessity entirely arose from the principles, in respect to the natives, on which they formed their views, and conducted the operations of the war. Whatever national advantages they obtained, by their opposition to Charles, were confined solely to England. We were in no respect to participate of them; so much was it the reverse, that

the most tyrannical of his proceedings, were not more hostile to British liberty, than the measures of their government were in respect to our rights. Had their interference been accompanied by a declaration, in favour of our liberties, and when their situation changed, had they restored us to the possession of them, it then might have been said, that the encroachments, of which Irishmen complained, arose from a necessity, occasioned by the confusion of the times. But they thought no apology was required. It is evident, that Ireland, in their estimation, was not entitled to the privileges of an independent kingdom. The favourable change of their affairs, produced no alteration in their principles of government, to our advantage. With the success of their arms, their violations multiplied. They disposed of our property, they confined our trade, they bound us by their laws, as if we had no legislature of our own, as if we were slaves, in all respects, subject to their absolute controul. Four years previous to the usurpation of Oliver, we were utterly deprived of our national dignity, and lost our constitution.

From the time that Cromwell threw off the mask, his conduct was perfectly consistent with his principles. He did not, like the parliament, pretend to be the friend of liberty; under the power of an avowed despot, neither England, or any other branch of the empire, could expect to enjoy the privileges of a free government.

Farewell.

LET-

L E T T E R XXXVI.

NONE had suffered so much, by the late revolutions, as the natives of Ireland. The insurrection, instead of procuring a redress of any 1660. of the grievances, under which they laboured, aggravated their miseries. In addition to all their former hardships, their lands, as forfeited, were violently torn from them. They had been driven into a part of the province of Connaught, beyond the limits of which, they must not pass, were it but to seek for justice, and to complain of their distresses, that common, that small consolation of the unfortunate. Some of these, anticipating the relief, which they flattered themselves they would obtain, on the accession of Charles, took forcible possession of their old lands, and habitations. Great pains were taken to represent to the King, this conduct of these much injured people, and that of all the Roman Catholics of Ireland, in the most odious point of view. It was the interest of those, who had torn from them their property, and who were apprehensive of losing it, to do them these malignant offices. To prejudice them, in this respect, no possible effort was omitted. Besides the pains that were taken, to make unfavourable impressions of them, on the mind of his Majesty, commissioners in behalf of the soldiers and adventurers, were sent over to attend the English parliament, to prevent the natives from being restored to their estates. Upon intelligence, that a general act of indemnity was likely to be passed, new commissioners were dispatched to England, who strenuously exerted their endeavours, to exclude the Irish from deriving any advantage from it, in respect to the forfeited lands. They were but too

successful in their applications, for when the act was published, it appeared, that none were entitled to the benefit of it, who were concerned in the late insurrection. Besides, by an instrument of government it was determined, that all who occupied lands or houses, belonging to the Irish, should continue to hold them, until farther enquiry.

WITH respect to religion, episcopacy, in it's antient form, was re-established in Ireland, tythes were set apart for it's support, and several vacant sees filled with clergymen of that persuasion.

MONK, the great instrument of the restoration, had been made lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Roberts his deputy : but as the state of affairs in England, prevented either of them from coming over, in December, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Broghill now made Earl of Orrery, and Sir Charles Coote, made Earl of Montrath, were created lords justices. Their principal instructions were to enforce the oaths of supremacy, and allegiance ; to prepare and transmit the bills, to be enacted by the ensuing parliament, and to send over the names of five commissioners, to be employed in executing his Majesty's declaration, for the settlement of this kingdom.

NOTWITHSTANDING the pains taken, by those who had lately acquired property in this country, to secure the possession of it, it was determined by government, that there should be a new distribution of the forfeited lands. After the matter had been some time in deliberation, and various schemes had been proposed, a calculation was made, and a scheme founded upon it, which his Majesty adopted. By the declaration which he published, concerning the settlement of this business, it was resolved ; That the adventurers should hold the lands they were

were possessed of, at May sixteen hundred and fifty nine, according to act of parliament, those excepted whose lands were within the limits of corporations, who were to get an equivalent in the neighbourhood. That the soldiers, those excepted who had been unfriendly to his cause, should be confirmed in the lands allotted them, as a compensation for their services. That the officers who had served, previous to June sixteen hundred and forty nine, to whom no recompense had been made, should receive their portion from certain funds allotted for the purpose. That Protestants, not in arms against his Majesty, previous to the cessation, who had been deprived of their lands by the adventurers, and received no equivalent, should be restored to them. That Roman Catholics, not obnoxious to the King, who had been removed into Connaught, should be reinstated in their possessions, those excepted, whose lands were within the limits of corporations: Such were to receive an equivalent. That Roman Catholics, who had submitted to the peace of sixteen hundred and forty eight, and still acquiesced in it, who had been removed to Connaught, should continue there.

THAT those who had served the King abroad; whose lands had been transferred to adventurers, and who had received no equivalent in Connaught, should be restored to them, when the adventurers were reimbursed what they had cost them.

ORMOND and Inchiquin were restored to their estates. A large grant of the Irish forfeited lands was bestowed upon Monk, whose exertions in favour of Charles, had been so conspicuously distinguished. It was likewise resolved, that thirty six Catholic Lords, of loyal principles, should be restored to their possessions. From the lands thus disposed of, a small chief rent, and half a year's rent,
for

for the first two years, were reserved to his Majesty. Corporations, and the lands belonging to them, were to be granted by the King, at pleasure. The last article was most hostile to the rights of the subject, as by the power which it gave the King, in corporations, he was, almost to a certainty, secured of a majority in parliament. Whilst the representation of counties is so inadequate; whilst boroughs, subject to the influence of the crown, continue vested with a privilege of sending members to parliament, the liberties of the people must be insecure. With great truth have they been called the rotten part of the constitution.

WITH the above distribution, many were much dissatisfied. The officers, of whom there were forty nine, who had served, previous to the arrival of Cromwell, complained of a very stinted provision. Those of the natives, not chargeable with taking up arms against the King, thought it most unjust, that they should be excluded from their lands, until 1661. those to whom they had been granted, should be indemnified, for the money which they had expended on them. Besides, they considered it to be still more grievous, that the qualifications, necessary to ascertain their innocence, were very numerous, and several of them iniquitous.

Adieu.

L E T T E R XXXVII.

WITH the accession of Charles, the privileges of the Irish parliament were restored. It was now summoned, to give the sanction of it's authority, to his Majesty's declaration for the settlement of the kingdom. Cromwell had filled the corporations with Protestants. No Roman Catholics were returned.

returned. The majority was very considerable, in favour of the adventurers and late settlers.

To enjoin, by a public order, a conformity with the liturgy and mode of church government, as established by law, was their first measure. The two houses then united in an address to the lords justices, to suspend all proceedings in the courts of law, with respect to the King's late declaration, until they should have time to enact statutes respecting it. This singular, indecent, unconstitutional request was complied with, in consequence of which, the parliament were enabled, by their own authority, to secure grants, in which, either themselves or their friends were concerned, and which, by an equitable decision, would have been restored to the ancient proprietors.

Of their partiality, when they proceeded to consider the declaration, they gave unequivocal proofs. They were for establishing it as it stood, without shewing any favour to the injured. In the house of lords, the Catholic peers supported the cause of the sufferers. They pleaded, that the principles of the declaration were, in many instances, prejudicial to numbers, who merited of the state better treatment. They pleaded, in particular, that to oblige those, whose right to be restored to their lands was undisputed, to advance previously, sums of reprisal to the present possessors, which they were unable to pay, was equal to an absolute exclusion. They represented this to be a very unfair, and a very distressing circumstance. In one respect only, their opposition availed. You recollect, that by the English act of adventurers, those who advanced a certain sum, towards defraying the expence of the Irish war, were to be allowed an adequate proportion of the forfeited lands. More money being wanted, as
a strong

a strong inducement to another subscription, it was enacted, by the same authority, that the contributors should have land in Ireland, double in proportion, to that which should be assigned to those who had formerly subscribed. This, called the Doubling Ordinance, being exclaimed against, as iniquitous, it was determined, that no adventurers should have lands, but those entitled to them by the principles of the first subscription, and who had actually paid their proportion. A proviso to this effect, and other clauses were inserted in the bill, framed to authorise his Majesty's declaration, and it was transmitted to London.

COMMISSIONERS followed it from the Irish, who were deeply interested in the event. These, depending upon the justice of their cause, used no artful or indirect means to carry their point, but in a plain, blunt manner, represented their case. Agents from the opposite party had been likewise dispatched to England, to manage their concerns. Their mode of conduct was exceedingly different. They were politick, compliant, insinuating; and, which was of more consequence to their affairs, they distributed considerable sums, among those who had a leading influence at court. Besides, they had the address to procure the original of a paper, by which the agents of the supreme council were empowered, to make an offer of the sovereignty of Ireland to the Pope, or to any Catholic prince, provided they received effectual assistance, in the recovery of their civil and religious privileges. One of the subscribers was Sir Nicholas Plunket, who unfortunately was an agent for the Irish, on the present occasion. Upon sight of the paper, the English government, inflamed with resentment, commanded the Roman Catholic commissioners

sioners, to desist from any farther application. The bill of settlement was returned to Ireland, and being approved by the lords and commons, passed into a law, September the fifteenth, sixteen hundred and sixty two.

THE interest of a number of the members, and that of their connexions, was deeply involved in the fate of the act of settlement; Charles, taking advantage of this circumstance, did not give it his assent, until an excise act, the hearth-money act, and two others were passed, the revenue arising from which was given to the crown in perpetuity. The taxes arising from these, from one enacted two years after, and from an act passed in the reign of Henry the Seventh, constituted the whole of the hereditary revenue. To be a constant check on the inordinate designs of ambition, the prince should depend for the means of power, on the will of the representatives of the people. By concurring in the above acts, our legislature encreased, most unwisely, the influence of the crown, and endangered the liberty of the nation.

A BILL had been transmitted, for imposing an oath of qualification on all the members of parliament; but, being thought unreasonable, was not returned. Upon this, a resolution passed the house, that none should be admitted into it, as members, who would not take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. It was condemned by the lords justices, therefore had no effect.

SOME time before, Ormond was created a duke, and made lord lieutenant of Ireland. He arrived the end of the preceding July. The present is a striking instance of those changes, which are continually taking place in the revolution of human affairs. A few years before, he had left Ireland, strip-
ped

ped of power, and reduced to the most straitened circumstances; he now returned to it, with unusual pomp and magnificence, reinstated in his fortune, and in all his honours, as the representative of majesty.

To execute the act of settlement, a court of commissioners was erected in Dublin. In the first three months, they found nineteen of the claimants disqualified, and confirmed one hundred and sixty eight in their lands. By a clause in the act in their favour, the latter were to be admitted to their estates, without any delay or reimbursement to the possessors. Chagrined by the apprehension, that the hopes they had formed, of acquiring a handsome property, would be blasted, the adventurers and foldiers loudly complained. They charged the commissioners with partiality. A number of them, being determined to carry matters to an extremity, in conjunction with the disaffected in England, laid schemes for an insurrection.

THIS spirit was heightened by the interference of the commons, who petitioned the lord lieutenant and council, to give such instructions to the commissioners, agreeably to the powers vested in them by the act of settlement, as would oblige them to determine claims, in a manner favourable to the Protestants, but which, at the same time, would be very prejudicial to Roman Catholics. As their petition deserved, it was rejected by government, upon which, the commons published a declaration, purporting, that they would use every means in their power, to prevent the injuries, which the Protestants were likely to receive from the act of settlement. By the exertions of Ormond, they cancelled this expression of their resentment, but their dissatisfaction still continued. These circumstances, encouraged

encouraged the conspirators to proceed with their design. They were inflamed with zeal, but had not conducted their scheme with secrecy. 1663.

When almost ripe for execution, it was discovered to Ormond, who seized twenty five of the persons chiefly concerned. The situation of government would not admit of treating the criminals with severity. Most of them were pardoned.

Farewell.

LETTER XXXVIII.

IT now appeared, that the act of settlement was, in many respects, inadequate to the purpose for which it was intended, and therefore, that the commissioners could not proceed with the execution of it, in it's present form. An explanatory bill had been transmitted by the commons, to England, but was rejected by his Majesty. He gave orders, that a bill entirely new, should be framed by the lord lieutenant and privy council. This was done. By it, the adventurers and soldiers were to give up a third of their grants, which, with other savings, were to be applied to the purpose of satisfying those, who otherwise could not have received those rewards from the King, which their services merited. It was likewise to be determined by the bill, that in all cases of competition, betwixt the Protestants and Roman Catholics, the former should have the preference, and that all the Irish, whose claims had not been decided by the commissioners, should be treated as disqualified. Thus was the partiality of the crown to it's favourites, self interest, and a spirit of bigotry, to extinguish the voice of justice and humanity, which would have pleaded, that upwards of three thousand unhappy men, found guilty of no crime, should

should not be excluded forever from the inheritance of their forefathers. Most naturally did they complain of this partial, iniquitous treatment.

THE parliament had been prorogued to the twenty sixth of October. Ormond, finding that the commons were not satisfied, with the provision to be made for them, and their friends, by the new bill, resolved to secure a majority, before they proceeded to the consideration of it. He used all his influence to fill some vacant seats, with the friends of government. When the house met, he communicated to them a letter from the King, filled with severe reprehensions of their conduct, respecting the late conspiracy. The affair being strictly examined, seven commoners were expelled. This example, with the fear of being dissolved, brought the members to a more pliant temper. The bill was now laid before them, and passed unanimously, under the title of a bill of explanation of the act of settlement. To execute this law, five commissioners were appointed. The lord lieutenant and council were vested by it, with a discretionary power of assisting them, in explaining and determining any points which might occur, of a difficult nature. So complex was this business, so many were the difficulties attending it, that a considerable time elapsed, before it was finally adjusted. When the landed property of the kingdom was settled, it was found that the natives possessed little more than the fifth part of it.

THOUGH at this period we had but just begun to emerge, from a state of perplexity and confusion, in which we had lost all our national privileges, we may clearly perceive, in the acts of settlement and explanation, the sentiments which were then entertained

tained, of the independence of Ireland on a foreign legislature.

THE distribution of lands to adventurers was originally derived from, and supported by the sanction of a British act; but, from a conviction, that this security was insufficient, that it was illegal, that it was a stretch of power, founded in usurpation, recourse was had to the authority of the Irish parliament, the only source of law binding on the people of this kingdom. Besides, to shew that the power of an English law was considered, in respect to this country, as perfectly insignificant, there were several clauses in the above mentioned acts, directly opposite to the British statute.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

LANDS in England, for some time past, had considerably diminished in their value. 1666. Of this, there was no difficulty in tracing out the causes. Persecutions for conscience sake, drove many industrious artizans and farmers, to look for the privileges of christians, in Holland and America. Trade with Spain was interrupted; that carried on with France, was unfavourable to the nation. The minds of numbers were diverted from those virtuous pursuits, on which public prosperity so much depends, by that spirit of licentiousness which universally prevailed, of which the court exhibited a shameful example. But the fall of rents was not in this manner explained. The Irish were permitted to export to England live cattle. This was alledged to be the cause. Upon this absurd principle, an act had been passed, in the year sixteen hundred and sixty three, forbidding the importation of cattle or provisions

sions from Ireland, after the first of July, every year. Not satisfied with this, two years after, the English parliament took up the matter, when a bill was brought in to prohibit us absolutely, from exporting these articles into England, and to prevent the king from exerting his prerogative in favour of this country, it was inserted in the preamble, that the importation of live cattle from Ireland was a nuisance. Those who opposed the bill, pleaded in the course of the debate, that it was destructive to Ireland, that it would also be injurious to England, which disposed of it's manufactures to this country, in return for the provisions it received; they pleaded, that the tendency of the bill was to raise the price of provisions in England, in consequence of which, the price of their manufactures would necessarily rise also. But, men influenced by prejudice are insensible to the force of argument. The commons, being determined to carry the point, in spite of all opposition, passed the bill. The debate was taken up with warmth in the house of lords. In the course of it, Buckingham, from contempt for this country, in which, from a spirit of pride, Englishmen have too freely indulged themselves, exclaimed, "that none would oppose the bill but such as had Irish estates, or Irish understandings." Lord Ossory, son of the Duke of Ormond, a young lord loved and admired by his countrymen, felt the indignity of this illiberal, unmanly reflexion, and in the warmth of resentment, challenged Buckingham. Buckingham took the easiest and safest way of conducting himself, on the occasion. He complained of Ossory, to the house, for a breach of privilege, who sent him to the tower. After two days confinement, he was set at liberty. The bill was passed with an immaterial alteration.

To

To prevent the pernicious consequences likely to follow from it to this country, Charles, by a stretch of prerogative; which however well designed with respect to us, was inconsistent with our legislative privileges; made with the consent of his council an act of state, by which he permitted a free trade from Ireland to foreign countries, in respect to all commodities of it's own growth and manufacture. As Ormond durst not take the advantage of this act of dispensing power, the trade of the kingdom was materially injured by this prohibitory law. The country had been greatly impoverished by the late war, and had scarcely began to breathe, after it's complicated distresses. This calamity had lessened considerably the number of it's inhabitants, suppressed industry, and in a particular manner been injurious to cultivation. Ireland was then a grazing country, it is so in a great measure at this day. Much more at that time was cattle one of our principal commodities. But, not being furnished with ships, we were unable to export them to any considerable distance. The disadvantages arising from this act, as was foretold, were mutual to both countries. Sir William Petty observes, that formerly, three fourths of our foreign trade centered in England, but that after it passed, not one fourth part of it was carried on with that kingdom. This sensible author, particularly observes, that when the trade to England was free, we exported cattle to it yearly, to the amount of a hundred and forty thousand pounds, and took goods from it in exchange, to the amount of treble and quadruple that sum. We merited better treatment from our sister country. Some time previous to the enacting of this unfriendly law, London had the misfortune to be burned. The people of this country, moved with

compassion, by the distress of the unhappy sufferers, opened a subscription for their relief, by which they were enabled to send them a supply of thirty thousand beeves.

THE spring of this year, sixteen hundred and sixty six, created much uneasiness to Ormond. Discontents prevailed among the people. Symptoms appeared of another intended insurrection. The garrison of Carrickfergus mutinied and seized the town; but it was immediately recovered. Twenty thousand stand of arms were distributed, among the well affected to government, and a regular militia established. The prudence and vigilant activity of the Lord Lieutenant, preserved the tranquillity of the kingdom.

To counteract the unfavourable tendency, of the late restriction laid upon it's commerce by England, he turned the attention of the people to the means of internal prosperity, with which they were provided. He encouraged the woollen business, brought into the kingdom and employed, persons who were acquainted with it; established a council of trade, and fixed manufactories in this branch at Clonmel and Carrick on Suir. Neither did the linen manufacture escape his notice; he sent to Holland for information, concerning the proper manner of conducting it, and, in imitation of Lord Strafford, engaged a number of families to come over from France, Germany, and elsewhere, by whose example and instructions, it might be advanced forward towards perfection.

Farewell.

LET-

LETTER XL.

IT was very much to the honor of Ormond, that among other laudable objects of his attention, he discovered a particular sollicitude, that church preferments should be conferred on Irishmen. Why should the fruit of our labours, contrary to reason and justice, be converted to the purpose of maintaining those, who ought to be provided for in their own country? Were numbers of clergy from Ireland, yearly sent over and intruded into her benefices, would not England complain? Nay, would she submit to such treatment? When then our livings are filled with British ecclesiastics, must we be silent? Is not a sense of natural right equally strong in both kingdoms, or is it different on that and on this side of the Channel? When through court influence, or the power of great men, strangers are promoted in our church, are not our students for holy orders, hereby deprived of one principal incitement to improve in knowledge? Besides, with respect to the clergy of an higher order, whose influence, as members of the legislature, must be considerable, is it to be imagined, that foreigners will be as heartily disposed, to promote the interest of our country, and to support its privileges, as those who are interested in it's welfare, by the attachments of birth, of consanguinity and education? Among other instances which might be mentioned, let the memorable conduct of Primate Boulter, who exerted himself with such zeal, in supporting an English interest, to the prejudice of the rights of Ireland, be an answer to this question.

To return to our history. Although Ormond endeavoured to correct these and other flagrant abuses,
and

and his administration was distinguished by wisdom, by steadiness, and public spirit, and the country began to assume an appearance of tranquillity and order, yet these and all his services could not render his situation secure. Buckingham, the prime minister and favourite of Charles, was his rival. He envied him his interest with the King, he envied him his employments, of steward of the household and lord lieutenant of Ireland. He determined therefore, with the assistance of his friends, distinguished by the name of the Cabal, to do every thing in his power to ruin him. With this view, he promoted an accusation against him, consisting of several articles, the principal were; that upon the mutiny at Carrickfergus, he had issued a commission, though in time of peace, to try the criminals by martial law; that he had quartered soldiers upon the subject, contrary to an act of Henry the Sixth; that he had mismanaged the revenue. It was plain that this charge was to be prosecuted with violence. Ormond saw the danger, and committing the government of Ireland to his son Lord Ossory, passed over to England, possessed of the hope that his Majesty, from a sense of the good offices which he had rendered to himself, and of his still more distinguished services in the cause of his father, would protect him from the hostile designs of Buckingham. Charles received him kindly. But as he was a stranger to gratitude and dignity of character, he assumed from hypocrisy, whatever appearance seemed best to suit his convenience. After a course of intrigue, carried on several months by Buckingham, Lord Arlington, and the rest of the junto, Ormond was displaced. But though the King paid this compliment to his favourite, he neither made him, nor any of his friends lord lieutenant of Ireland; he invested Lord Roberts

berts with that office. This nobleman could not accommodate himself to the temper of the Irish; besides, he discovered a particular aversion to the Roman Catholic religion; for these reasons, particularly the last, after he had held the reins of government a short time, they were taken from him and placed in the hands of Lord Berkley.

UPON the arrival of Lord Berkley in Ireland, the Roman Catholics were divided into two parties, who opposed each other with the bitterest animosity. You have seen that for a considerable time, there was a class of the Irish less bigotted in their religion, and more moderate with respect to political matters. These, whatever might have been their opinion, concerning the right formerly claimed by the English kings, of exercising sovereign authority over this country, thought it their interest now quietly to submit to their government, and to renounce allegiance to any other power. 1670.

At the restoration, this party, both ecclesiastics and laity, presented a remonstrance to the King, in which they declare him, to be the supreme and lawful sovereign of Ireland, that neither the Pope, or any foreign power, had a right to interfere with his authority, or to exempt his subjects, in temporal matters, from the allegiance and submission to which he was justly entitled, and that it was their duty to reveal any conspiracies, known to them, against his person or government.

THE other party consisted of the more violent Papists, whose high principles, with respect to the Pope's supremacy, in temporals as well as spirituals, and inflexible purpose to restore to their religion, that support and those honours, of which it had been deprived by the reformation, created perpetual uneasiness to the more moderate Catholics, encreased

the public confusion, and essentially injured their cause, from the year sixteen hundred and forty one. These were highly provoked by the remonstrance, and used every means that religious zeal, ambition, and a party spirit could devise, to render those odious who were concerned in it. To quiet this disturbance, government had permitted a synod of the Roman Catholic clergy, to convene at Dublin in June sixteen hundred and sixty six. But those of more bigotted principles, would listen to no terms of accommodation. The meeting had no other effect, than to excite the passions of those on each side, to greater bitterness of opposition. The advocates for the Papal power, were now distinguished by the name of Anti-remonstrants, as the others were known by the title of Remonstrants. As the principles of the latter were those of loyal subjects, it was most unreasonable to suppose, that their cause would not be espoused by the Lord Lieutenant. He was required to do so by his public instructions. But, in his conduct, he was evidently partial to the Anti-remonstrants. This was matter of astonishment to all, who were not acquainted with the measures now in agitation at court.

BEFORE his accession to the throne, Charles had secretly become a convert to Popery. He now resolved to throw off the mask, to rest his authority, as sovereign, upon that of the Pope, to restore to him his supremacy in spirituals, and to re-establish in his dominions the Roman Catholic religion. An interest, favourable to these views had, for some time past, been encreasing at court. This influence had removed Lord Roberts, whose principles were hostile to their schemes, and raised Berkley to the government of Ireland. His sentiments perfectly coincided with their wishes. He was partial, as we have

have said, to the anti-remonstrants. To Peter Talbot, a favourite with the Duke of York, and for his religious zeal, created by the Pope titular archbishop of Dublin, he was particularly attentive and complaisant. This haughty prelate treated the remonstrants with insolence. They complained of him to Berkley, whom, from ignorance of the design which he was labouring to accomplish, they endeavoured to impress, with just views of the dangerous tendency to the state, of the religious and political principles he entertained and his partizans. But he gave them no satisfaction, rather treated them with contempt. Shortly after, Roman Catholics were permitted to take out commissions for the peace, and admitted into corporations.

IN consequence of an act of parliament, by which the Lord Lieutenant and privy council were vested with power, to regulate the affairs of corporate towns, the aldermen of Dublin were enjoined by government, to elect a new common council. When this was done, by the same influence, the council removed seven Protestant aldermen, and filled their places with Roman Catholics. Sir Ellis Leighton, of the same persuasion, and secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, was chosen recorder, in the stead of Sir William Davis, who, to make room for him, was dismissed.

COMMISSIONED by a number of Catholic lords and gentlemen, Colonel Talbot repaired to England, and complained to his Majesty and council, that by the act of settlement, many of the Irish had been very unjustly deprived of their property. He entreated, that for the present, a stop should be put to the farther distribution of lands in this country, and that persons, honest and impartial, should be appointed to examine the affair, and give the King a faithful

faithful account, of the nature and foundation of their complaints. This application was perfectly agreeable to the wishes of the English ministry. They took up the business and spent upon it some considerable time. But warm opposition being made to it, by those who had gained by the act of settlement, and by such as hoped to reap advantages from it, the enquiry came to nothing.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XLI.

YOU know we must omit nothing, which may occur in the course of our enquiries, that may have a tendency to vindicate or explain the rights of Ireland. I must therefore inform you, that in the report of Sir Heneage Finch, his Majesty's attorney general, before the King and privy council, relative to the act of explanation, he asserts, that were the parliament of England, to make a new settlement of the lands in Ireland, this would be no security to those who solicited that measure, which it seems Colonel Talbot did, commissioner for the Irish, much to his dishonour. Finch explains his opinion, in respect to this important subject, in the following manner. A parliament of Ireland, may repeal all the force of an English act in Ireland. An English act binds Ireland, yet most certainly no longer, than until it be repealed by the legislature of that country. Thus, if a statute were made in England, to forbid the transportation of wool out of Ireland, yet a statute in Ireland, might again restore to that country this privilege; for it is absurd and impossible to suppose, that a parliament should be endued with a legislative power, such as that of which Ireland is possessed, and yet, that it should be disabled

bled from acting legislatively. Some of the council, displeased with this doctrine of the Attorney General, asked him, whether the Irish might make a law for exporting their cattle to England? No, he replied, but they might send them to any other part of the world, though England made an act against it; for, they have as absolute a power to repeal the effect of any law in Ireland, as the parliament of England have, to make a law to take effect at home. Upon this, he was asked, whether he could justify what he had advanced? He answered, "I would justify it to be my opinion, and I did conceive it to be law." It was then observed, that Ireland was a conquered country. "Yes," returned a counsellor of distinguished consequence, "by the King, but not by the parliament." The sentiments of Finch, on the subject, were very agreeable to Charles, who, in respect to what he had said upon it, remarked, "I know not whether it be good law; I am sure it is very good reason."

THIS testimony of the Attorney General, justified by some of the most respectable of the council, and approved by his Majesty, is compleat, with respect to the liberties of Ireland. For though he says that an English act binds this country, he acknowledges, that this depends upon our own consent; he admits, that we may resist, that we may counteract, that we may destroy it's efficacy. Now, a power of enacting, which, in respect to that which is enacted, depends entirely in it's operation, upon the will of those who are to be affected by it, is in reality no power. It is a word without meaning. A right of making law, necessarily implies an obligation in the subject to obey. The two ideas are inseparably connected. They must either subsist together, or have no existence. Parliament, except
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in those instances, wherein it contradicts the principles of it's institution, is vested with supreme authority; acts done by it, which may be controuled, are unjust, they are illegal, they violate the constitution. Within the limits of it's own authority it can do every thing; beyond those limits it can do nothing. Finch says, "It is absurd to suppose, that we have a parliament, but that it cannot act legislatively," that is, make laws for those from whom it derived it's powers; if it can, this excludes from it's province the interference of a foreign authority. If a power of making laws for another country, which may be resisted, actually did exist, it must belong to ours as much as to any other legislature. If the British parliament may exercise such an authority with respect to us, the Irish parliament may exercise it, in relation to them, agreeably to the reciprocal obligations of justice, and the principles of the English Attorney General.

Adieu.

L E T T E R XLII.

THE unequivocal steps taken in Ireland by government, in favour of the Roman Catholic religion, alarmed the Protestants. Much disturbance was likely to ensue. Ministry, alarmed by an apprehension of the consequence, now plainly perceived, that they had urged the execution of their scheme with precipitancy. To quiet the public fears, and ward off the severe reflexions to which they were exposed, from the opposite party, they pretended to be displeased with the conduct of Berkley, and dismissed him from his office. He was succeeded by the Earl of Essex.

GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT were now, in appearance, to adopt new measures, but the same influence, and the same views, though less openly, still predominated.

You have seen that the Recorder, and several Protestant aldermen, had been dismissed from the corporation of Dublin. They complained of this injury to the council board, who determined the measure to be illegal, ordered the ejected aldermen to be reinstated, and the proceedings relative to their expulsion, to be erased from the city books. The aldermen were restored, but the commons refused to cancel the proceedings. Commotions ensued in the city, which greatly disturbed the public peace. Law proceedings were commenced against the commons, which being likely to prove ineffectual, the lord mayor and aldermen ordered the city books to be produced, and scratched out the proceedings. Mutual jealousies betwixt the Protestants and Roman Catholics, difficulties continually arising in the execution of the act of settlement, orders from the King, which could not be obeyed consistent with law, rendered the situation of Essex not a little irksome. One circumstance gave him much trouble. Through the influence of the Duke of York; the Roman Catholics were employed, as farmers of the revenue. Essex had opposed this appointment, being afraid, that the power which they derived from it, might be prejudicial to the safety of government. For this he was in danger of being dismissed from his office; to prevent which, having committed the direction of public affairs to the Primate and Lord Granard, as justices, he passed over into England, and by his interest at court, having averted the storm, he returned to Ireland, still however resolved to act upon the same principles, with respect

respect to the farmers of the revenue, but to conduct himself more cautiously. By his secret influence, Lord Granard represented to the council, that the security which the farmers had given was not sufficient; upon which the matter was examined, and a memorial transmitted to England with respect to it. This obliged the court to appoint commissioners, to enquire into the affair, in consequence of which, the public money was more effectually secured. The part which Essex took in this business, notwithstanding all his address, was not concealed from the Duke of York, whose displeasure he incurred on account of it. By another transaction he lost entirely his interest with the King. Lord Ranelagh, who had the management of the revenue, on several occasions transmitted money to Charles, by which the demands on government here were not regularly discharged. Essex complained, and, though desired by the King, refused to pass Ranelagh's accounts. Such upright conduct merited a reward; but, on account of it, Charles dismissed him from his office.

LORD Essex seems to have been a man of distinguished integrity. It is impossible not to feel, with the highest approbation, the sentiments which we sometimes meet with in his letters. "The fear," says he, in one of them, "of losing any employment, hath never, in any measure, entered into my thoughts, so as to make me do any thing inconsistent with my duty." In another, he declares, "What letters soever I receive from his Majesty, I neither can nor will obey them, if disagreeable to the known laws of the land." Chief governours of Ireland, who to gratify their interested passions, meanly comply with the instructions of the ministry that employs them, however improper in themselves,

selves, and præjudicial to the welfare of the kingdom, should reflect upon this shining example of public virtue, and blush for their misconduct.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XLIII.

THE motives which influence the conduct of kings and ministers of state, are often inexplicable, sometimes marked with the strongest characters of inconsistency. You have seen the views of Charles, with respect to the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion. You have perceived that the measures adopted for this purpose, under the administration of Lord Berkley, were so obnoxious to the Protestants, that he was obliged to substitute in his place Lord Essex. But, as during his government, the same design was in agitation, no one could possibly have supposed, that upon his removal, the Duke of Ormond would have been created viceroy. Ormond for years had been ^{1677.} out of favour, was most obnoxious to the ministers, and one of the last men in the kingdom likely to support their measures. Notwithstanding, he was created lord lieutenant of Ireland. The causes of this unexpected change, seem to be yet unexplained. Carte assigns for it the following reason. Monmouth had become a reigning favourite with the King, who was solicited by the Dutchess of Portsmouth and the Lord Treasurer, to commit to him the government of Ireland. This alarmed the jealousy of the Duke of York, who was apprehensive, that if Monmouth should be vested with such power, it might render him a formidable rival, in case that on a future occasion, there should arise betwixt them a competition for the crown. But he thought
no

no opponent, with respect to that office, was so likely to disappoint his views as the Duke of Ormond; therefore by his influence, he was restored to the favour of Charles, and a third time sent to administer the affairs of this kingdom.

You remember, that by the instigation of Buckingham, several charges had been advanced against Ormond, for improper conduct during his late government of Ireland, but none of them had been proved, so as to affect him materially. On examining the state of the public accounts, it was found that the receipts exceeded the disbursement, for support of the civil and military establishment, and that in his administration government had been sunk in debt. This appeared plainly to have been owing, to sums issued by the King's warrant or authority, which had not been brought into the account. Lord Essex would not give his sanction to such proceedings, as they were altogether irregular, and an imposition on the people. However, that he might not be subject to such reflexions in future, Ormond made it a point, before he left England, that rules should be laid down, to prevent the King from applying the public money to private uses, as formerly. For the time to come, the designs of the crown, with respect to remission of rents, petitions for favours, patents, grants, of whatsoever kind, were in the first instance, to be made known to the lord lieutenant, and to have the sanction of his approbation.

ORMOND found upon his arrival, that the affairs of government required particular attention, and the most vigorous exertions. The army was to be put on a respectable footing; arrangements were necessary for the defence of the kingdom; the enquiries of the courts, in respect to forfeitures, were to
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be so regulated as to prevent iniquitous determinations, and all this to be done, with such a minute attention to every circumstance, as would put it out of the power of his enemies, to take any advantage of him. On his own account, as well as that of the public, Ormond strongly advised the King to convene the Irish parliament. This was the only constitutional method of procuring money, for supplying the exigencies of state. Besides, he represented to his Majesty, that the interference of parliament was necessary, to confirm the decrees of the court of claims, to put an end to enquiries after forfeited lands, now become very grievous to the subject, and to pass an act of general indemnity.

BUT unexpectedly, the attention of government was engaged by a different object. At this juncture, ministry received information, with respect to what was called the Popish plot. In this it was supposed the Irish were deeply concerned. Suspicions of guilt were fixed on several persons in particular. On this account, Ormond, by instructions from government, seized and conveyed, as prisoner to the castle, Peter Talbot, titular archbishop of Dublin, though languishing at the time under a distemper. Afterwards, Richard Talbot his brother, Lord Mountgarret and his son, were likewise apprehended. Orders were issued to the lord lieutenant, that Popish ecclesiastics should leave the kingdom, that Roman Catholic seminaries should be suppressed, and that all the Irish of that persuasion, should be obliged to deliver up their arms in twenty days. Though Ormond was very attentive to his instructions, and exerted himself to preserve the public peace, with activity, he was accused by the more violent, as not sufficiently attentive to the Protestant cause, and to the dangers which, in their apprehension,

apprehension, threatened the safety of the kingdom. In one instance, those who were not gratified with his severity, must surely have been possessed of sanguinary dispositions. A number of banditti called Tories, had long infested Ireland. They watched their opportunity, robbed and then retreated into fastnesses, where it was very difficult to apprehend them. In this time of general alarm, Ormond thought it proper to publish a proclamation, by which the relations of known tories, were to be committed, until the criminals should be either killed or brought to justice. By the same proclamation, every Popish priest was to be taken and transported in fourteen days, in whose vicinity any murder or robbery was committed, and the guilty within that time not brought to punishment. Does not this bear some resemblance to the edicts of a Nero, or Cæsar Borgias?

THE state encouraged all who knew any thing of the plot, to discover it. This prompted numbers to cherish those imaginary fears, which induced them to listen to any idle report, that coincided with their apprehensions. Others seized the present opportunity of gratifying their private resentments. Many affected zeal for the public service, to obtain rewards. Hence a number of discoverers appeared, but their accusations when taken and examined, vanished into nothing. One Fitzgerald had been suspected of guilt, was seized and cast into prison. He declared he knew much of the plot, on which he was sent for to England; where being called upon to give the expected information, his conscience not permitting him to persist longer in a falsehood, obliged him to acknowledge, that the whole was a forgery. Several persons accused were forced over to England to be tried there, contrary to law, and the

the rights of the Irish constitution, None of them was so unfortunate as Oliver Plunket, titular archbishop of Armagh. Plunket was a man of unexceptionable character. He had always been a peaceable subject, and quite averse in his principles to political intrigue. Notwithstanding, he was charged with a design of raising seventy thousand men, for the purpose of an insurrection. He had punished some of his inferior clergy, for lewd indecent behaviour, which rendered him the object of their resentment. These were the accusers, upon whose evidence, in support of a charge, which no man acquainted with the circumstances of Ireland, could believe had any real foundation, he was condemned and executed.

THE Popish plot made a great noise, and created much disturbance in both kingdoms. Whoever considers, that nothing so much as an insurrection, tended to blast the flattering prospect, opened to the Roman Catholics by the English ministry, and with a mind free from prejudice, examines the authenticity of the evidence, by which it was supported, will be induced to believe, that no such design ever did exist. It appears to have been an engine of political stratagem, encouraged by bigotry and the spirit of the times. Had not Charles favoured Roman Catholics, and the measures of government he adopted, been so prejudicial to the liberties of his people, it would in all probability, have never been heard of. The natives of this country suffered by it exceedingly. They were disarmed; many of their clergy driven from the kingdom. Orders were issued to dissolve their societies, their convents, their schools, and other seminaries of learning. They were not permitted to enter into any castle or walled town. They were forbidden to meet together, even to converse on subjects, which had no

connexion with either religion or politics. So many of the Catholic persuasion, were driven from the mercantile towns, by the hand of oppression, that the Protestants, on account of the stagnation of trade occasioned by it, were obliged to petition government, to permit them to return.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XLIV.

THE late commotions occasioned by the fears of an insurrection, having in a great measure subsided, at the desire of the King, who wished for his advice in the present state of affairs, Ormond went over to England, having appointed the Earl of Arran, during his absence, to manage the affairs of this country. Too great an attachment to prerogative, was the shade in the character of Ormond, most prejudicial to his reputation, in the opinion of posterity. Of this disposition he gave a most convincing proof, on the present occasion. The miseries incident to the government of his father, and the awful catastrophe which closed his unfortunate reign, had no influence in opening the eyes of the King, to the folly of sacrificing the public welfare, to the gratifications of ambition. Possessed of arbitrary principles, when he ascended the throne, they had hitherto, except for a short space in the beginning of his reign, formed the distinguishing features of his administration. His views were every day more despotic, of which, his private intrigues with Lewis King of France, revealed in the original letters published by Sir John Dalrymple, are the most convincing proof. Obstacles had arisen, which retarded the gratification of his wishes; he now resolved to surmount them, and to execute the hostile schemes

schemes he had adopted, with respect to the Protestant religion, and the rights of the constitution. There was no man more capable of assisting him, in the prosecution of his designs, than the Duke of Ormond.

ON opening his views to him, relative to the civil liberties of his people, the opinion of Ormond was, that as he had taken such steps towards establishing his authority, he ought to persevere. So far the King and minister agreed, in the propriety of robbing freemen of their liberties. But his majesty perceived, that Ormond could not be prevailed with to support his measures, respecting the Roman Catholic religion; he therefore resolved to dismiss him from his service.

ACCORDINGLY, upon the return of the Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, he received a letter from his Majesty, in which he informed him, that it was necessary to his service, that many alterations should be made in Ireland, both in the civil and military departments; that a number of persons recommended by him must be displaced, on which account, and for reasons of a similar nature, he resolved to remove him from the government, and to place it in the hands of Lord Rochester. To this open avowal of the measures he was about to adopt, he was encouraged by the state of his affairs in England, which for some time past had been most favourable to his wishes.

THE prospect of a Popish successor, very justly gave great uneasiness to the friends of the Protestant religion, particularly to the amiable Lord Ruffel; by his influence, and that of his connexion, a bill was introduced into the house of commons, for excluding the Duke of York from the crown. It passed the commons, but was rejected by the lords.

Provoked by this attempt to carry a measure extremely offensive to him, and averse to the political principles of those who supported it, Charles dissolved the parliament. From the hopes, that by changing the place of meeting from London, always attached to liberty, to a town as distinguished for passive obedience, he would meet with less opposition, he summoned a parliament to Oxford. But he was disappointed. The members were as refractory, as those of the former. Nothing would satisfy the Whigs but the bill of exclusion. In two years, the King had dissolved three parliaments. From a violent impulse of resentment, he dissolved the present parliament, firmly determined never to assemble another, a resolution from which he did not depart. To their everlasting disgrace, the tories, who were very numerous, triumphed in this tyrannical measure, and by their addresses and public declarations, exerted themselves, and that too successfully, in support of it.

THE present gloomy aspect of affairs deeply affected the friends of liberty, some of whom, to prevent it's utter destruction, began to think of schemes to effect a revolution. The design was discovered by government and defeated. The suspicion of a Popish insurrection, had injured the schemes of Charles and his party; the issue of the Rye house plot promoted them. It raised the confidence of the tories and Roman Catholics; it depressed that of the whigs, and, which was a matter of no small consequence to Charles, it delivered him from three men of leading influence, who of all others had given the keenest opposition to his government. Lord Shaftsbury was compelled to fly from his country; Lord Russel and Algernon Sydney,

ney, by a shocking perversion of law, died by the hands of the executioner.

CHARLES might now safely pursue his measures with respect to this country. Agreeably to his intentions communicated to Ormond, he created Rochester lord lieutenant. But he placed a power of the first consequence to the accomplishment of his views, in the hands of a Roman Catholic. Richard Talbot, as lieutenant general, was vested with the authority of modelling the army, even to the appointment of the lowest officer.

ON the sixth of February sixteen hundred and eighty four, death blasted for ever the flattering expectations of this ambitious King. His government was not more hostile to the constitution, than to the interests of religion and virtue in these nations. For some time previous to his ascending the throne, a spirit of enthusiasm, of bigotry and superstition, had stripped religion of her engaging form, given her a forbidding aspect, and substituted a strict observance of the external duties of piety, in the place of moral virtue. Mankind are prone to run into opposite extremes. This propensity, in the present instance, with respect to these kingdoms, was heightened by the licentious, most profligate example of Charles the Second. Averse himself to every thing serious, the virtues of piety were ridiculed, and all appearance of religion banished from his court. This unhallowed spirit descended through the several orders of the people, who, it is much to be apprehended, feel it's pernicious influence to this day.

You remember that this King, when speaking on a particular occasion, of the opinion of Sir Henrage Finch, concerning the privileges of the Irish parliament, expressed himself very favourably with respect to them, and yet several English acts were

passed during his reign, quite inconsistent with them.

THE navigation act names Ireland, the last clause of which obliged all ships of this country, importing goods from any of our plantations abroad, to touch at England, to unship their cargoes and re-enter them, before they were permitted to return home.

A BRITISH act of the same reign prohibits the exportation of wool, from Ireland to any country, except England. First it was made highly penal, and soon after, which was usurpation aggravated by cruelty, declared to be felony.

ANOTHER English statute of Charles the Second, forbids the planting of tobacco in Ireland. Might we not on the same principle, have been prohibited to plant trees, or corn, or wheat, or any other vegetable necessary to the preservation of life?

Farewell.

L E T T E R XLV.

JAMES the Second, who, on the death of his brother Charles, ascended the throne, was possessed of the same arbitrary principles, and openly avowed the Roman Catholic religion. In 1684. carrying forwards the unconstitutional measures of the former reign, he had been an active instrument; the same designs, now that he was invested with sovereign power, were to be the rule of his government. But before he proceeded with the execution of them, it was necessary that he should be established on the throne; he therefore, with the most shameful insincerity, assured the council, what he afterwards repeated to the parliament at it's first meeting, " that he would make it his endeavour to preserve the government, both in church and state, as it

it was then by law established, and that he would go as far as any man, in preserving all the just rights and liberties of the nation." As James was thoroughly known, such declarations could make but a very slight impression, either on the minds of the friends of liberty and the Protestant religion, or on those of opposite principles. As on the death of Charles, Rochester had been made treasurer of England, he could not come over lord lieutenant of Ireland. In the mean time, it was determined to commit the government of our affairs, to two lords justices. The persons chosen were chancellor Boyle and the Earl of Granard.

No symptoms of opposition to the authority of the King having appeared, except in those who had supported Monmouth's rebellion, which was now entirely suppressed, he thought it no longer necessary, to delay the execution of those measures, which he was determined to pursue. In England, he began openly to employ in his service Roman Catholics; in this country, his designs were still more evidently marked. Until a person more agreeable to his wishes could be found, James appointed the Earl of Clarendon, whose sister he had married, lord lieutenant of this kingdom.

UPON his arrival, he found the Protestants in a most disagreeable situation. The militia of that persuasion, formed by Ormond to secure the public tranquillity, having been disarmed, great numbers of the banditti mentioned before, issued from their retreats, and harassed them, now unprovided with the means of defence. Spies upon their words and actions lay in wait, to catch at something of which they might be accused. Complaints of them to Clarendon daily multiplied, who was obliged to be very circumspect in his conduct, for he knew the
sentiments

sentiments of the King, and the instructions which he himself had received. The seals were taken from Boy'e and given to Sir Charles Porter, a needy dependant on the crown. Three Roman Catholics were placed on the bench, to make way for whom as many Protestant judges had been removed. Men of the same religious persuasion were admitted to the council. The oath of supremacy was dispensed with, the reformed teachers forbidden to touch upon controversy, Catholics were permitted to profess openly their religion, and their ecclesiastical dignitaries to officiate in the habits of their order. A regular Popish hierarchy was established, and revenues assigned for it's support, from the rents of the Protestant bishopricks.

RICHARD Talbot had been one of the Roman Catholics, who on the arrival of Cromwell had deserted the kingdom. He went over to the continent, where he attended the fortunes of Charles and his brother. With York, in consequence of his lively obsequious manner, and still more, of his zealous professions of attachment to Popery, he was a particular favourite. But he had no sincere regard for religion in any form. His character was marked by insincerity, by dissipated morals, and by a haughty intemperance of passion, which prompted him to treat his inferiors with contempt, and his superiors with disrespect. In the conclusion of the last reign, you recollect he had been made lieutenant general of the army in Ireland, with very extensive powers. Some time after the accession of James, being created Earl of Tyrconnel, he came over and entered upon office. To changes both civil and ecclesiastical, which had taken place, he had been particularly accessary, by his influence with government. In his own immediate department, he paid no regard to the

the dictates of either justice or moderation. He dismissed from the army four thousand Protestant soldiers, and three hundred officers, many of whom had bought their commissions. The soldiers he stripped even of their cloaths, and turned them into the world naked and without the means of support. The officers went over to the Prince of Orange, with whom they returned to their native country at the revolution. Tyrconnel was now, in the place of Lord Rochester, made lord lieutenant. As might be expected, his administration was distinguished by violence and partiality.

It was supposed, that Porter would be a subservient instrument of government, but he conducted himself with some moderation, and therefore was obliged to give up the seals to Sir Alexander Fitton, a new convert to Popery, and who had been convicted of a capital crime.

SIR William Domville, the attorney general, long remarkable for his abilities, and even loyalty, was displaced, to make room for Nagle, a violent partizan of the Roman Catholic cause. But three Protestant judges now remained upon the bench. The changes in the civil and military departments were rapid and numerous. Those appointed to fill the vacant offices, were much inferior to those who had been dismissed from them, in knowledge, in abilities and experience.

To secure a majority in parliament, was with the ministry, an object of the first importance. But this could not be obtained, so long as corporations continued in the hands of Protestants. An easy method was taken to surmount this difficulty. Tyrconnel demanded of the city of Dublin a surrender of their charter. They refused, and entreated the King by petition, not to deprive them of their privileges.

In

In vain. Their right was tried, and through the influence of the court, they were compelled to relinquish it. In a short time, either by surrender, in consequence of fear or flattery, or by violence, or by the decision of Roman Catholic judges, a considerable number of charters were annihilated. New charters were granted, and the corporations, now absolutely at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, filled up with a large majority of Roman Catholic electors. From a motive, the same with that which was the cause of this measure, Popish sheriffs were appointed for the several counties. In the present year, sixteen hundred and eighty seven, there was but one Protestant sheriff in Ireland, and he was put into the office by mistake. Actions the result of bigotry and of arbitrary principles, are hateful at all times, and in those of every denomination.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XLVI.

WHEN measures were adopted, so unfavourable to the Protestant interest, as those mentioned in my last, it was not to be expected, that the university of Dublin would escape uninjured. It did not escape. The fellows, apprehensive of the designs of government with respect to it, attempted to send their plate to England, in order to be disposed of; but it was seized by the command of Tyrconnel, and with great difficulty saved from his rapacity. First one Roman Catholic and then another, was designed to be intruded as fellows into the university. With respect to the former, no such fellowship as that designed to be filled up actually existed, the latter would not take the oath of supremacy, as required by the statutes, and therefore was rejected.

rejected. Tyrconnel felt this disappointment with the warmth of vexation and displeasure. Government had added to the revenues of the college, a yearly pension of near four hundred pounds; this he stopped to gratify his resentment. In the general anxiety and confusion commerce languished; of course the revenue decreased. Displeased with this circumstance, which was ascribed to the measures of Tyrconnel, more violent than his instructions justified, ministry threatened him with their displeasure; to avert which he passed over to England, satisfied the King, with respect to the propriety of his conduct, and was continued in his government.

HIS next attempt was to overturn the act of settlement. With this view he sent over Lord Chief Justice Nugent, and Baron Rice to England as commissioners. They endeavoured, agreeably to their instructions, to prevail with the King to call a meeting of the Irish parliament, a majority of which, from the influence of Roman Catholics in elections, there was no doubt, would have concurred in such a measure. James entered into the idea with warmth, but it was rejected through the influence of the council.

HAPPILY for these nations, by the overruling Providence of God, a glorious revolution 1688. was soon to dissipate the fears and animate the hopes, of all concerned for the rights of Britain and Ireland. When James began, by more open and flagrant encroachments on the constitution, to give convincing proofs of the principles by which he designed to govern, the friends of liberty cast their eyes upon his son-in-law, William Prince of Orange, as the only person to whom they could apply, for deliverance from the dangers by which they were threatened. To him, from time to time, numbers
of

of them had resorted, with a view to engage him in their cause, and to concert the measures necessary to render it successful. Of this design, Tyrconnel had received early intelligence, which he immediately communicated to the king. James was alarmed, and ordered him to send over to his assistance, four thousand troops. This was an impolitic measure. It tended to open the eyes of those in Ireland, who were doubtful in respect to the intentions of the king, and the absence of so many troops, encouraged the exertions of those here who were interested in the privileges of this country. Many of the Irish could not be persuaded to believe, that the reports propagated on this occasion had any foundation. Their eyes were soon opened; for by this time the Prince of Orange had landed in England, where he was soon joined by numbers. Success promised to reward his glorious undertaking. The affairs of James grew every day more desperate. This flattering prospect elevated the friends of liberty in this country, and depressed proportionably the spirit of the opposite party. Tyrconnel grew humble, and endeavoured to conciliate the favourable opinion of those, whom his tyranny had irritated; at the same time, he used his utmost endeavours to raise soldiers. Great numbers of a lower class enlisted. No discipline was preserved; they wanted pay, in consequence of which, the country was harrassed by their depredations.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XLVII.

FREQUENTLY had the Protestants of Ireland been made uneasy, by reports, that the Roman Catholics designed to rise in arms, with the same

same views which had influenced their conduct, in the insurrection of sixteen hundred and forty one. They were now dreadfully alarmed, 1688. from a similar cause. Lord Mountalexander, of the county of Down, received a letter from a person unknown, in which he was informed, that the Irish designed a general insurrection, for the destruction of Protestants, on the ninth day of the following December. Letters communicating the same intelligence, were conveyed to other gentlemen in the North. In the conduct of some individuals of the Roman Catholics, circumstances of suspicion were observed. On such occasions feeling is all alive. The imagination takes hold of every thing and magnifies it, which has a tendency to inspire with terror. In a very short time, all the Protestants of Ireland received the alarm. They used every effort to provide against the expected danger; numbers of them deserted their habitations, and prepared to seek for safety in a foreign country. There is no evidence to prove these apprehensions had any real foundation. The ninth of December arrived. All continued quiet.

WHEN the four thousand men we have mentioned were sent to England, Tyrconnel had removed the garrison of Londonderry. He saw his error, and commanded a Roman Catholic regiment, lately raised by the Marquis of Antrim, to march to that city, to repress any attempts which might be made by the inhabitants, hostile to government. They had arrived at Newtownlimavaddy, a village about twelve miles distant, before the citizens of Derry were made acquainted with their approach. Just before, they had heard of the supposed insurrection. This circumstance, which tended to confirm the intelligence, and to strengthen their fears, required

required immediate deliberation. Opinions were various. Time was lost in fruitless undecided consultations. Mean time, two officers arrived to provide forage for the regiment, the first division of which was at hand. At the critical moment, a few apprentice boys, animated by a sudden impulse, which frequently, on great and interesting occasions, takes possession of the heart, flew to the gates, shut them, drew up the bridge, and seized the magazine. By this spirited action, those who before had been irresolute, were determined. The inhabitants, without exception, resolved not to admit the Irish, and to defend the town against all who should attempt to injure their lives, their liberty or religion. When intelligence of this reached Tyrconnel, he ordered Lord Mountjoy, with Lundy his lieutenant colonel, to march at the head of six companies, to reduce Derry to obedience. Upon his arrival, he and two companies were admitted, on condition that in fifteen days, pardon should be granted to all concerned in the late opposition to government, that those who pleased should have liberty to depart from the city, and that, of the troops whom they would afterwards receive, one half must be Protestants. Mountjoy was made governor of the town. The inhabitants had confidence in his principles. He entered into their views, determined to oppose all who were enemies to them and the constitution. Every method was taken to put the place into a state of defence, and to furnish it with arms and ammunition.

ENNISKILLEN, animated by the spirit which had so honourably distinguished the citizens of Derry, refused to admit two companies, sent by Tyrconnel to awe them to obedience. In other parts of the North, particularly in the counties of Down and Antrim,

Antrim, Protestants associated, under the command of particular gentlemen, who stood forth, on the present alarming occasion, in defence of the privileges of their country.

I HAVE mentioned, that shortly after the arrival of William in England, the fairest prospect of success opened to his view. It brightened every day. When the power of the tyrant is dissolved, he can place no confidence, even in those whom he has most obliged, and who have professed the strongest attachment to him, in the day of his prosperity. Thus it was with the unfortunate James. All having deserted him, he was obliged to fly from the kingdom. Had the Prince of Orange been possessed of the same arbitrary principles, he was now presented with a flattering opportunity of seizing the government. But such views were totally inconsistent with his sense of honor, his benevolence and greatness of mind. When by his magnanimous efforts, he had restored to the nation the full possession of their privileges, he submitted to the unrestrained determination of the states, the settlement of the empire. By them the crown was placed upon his head, in conjunction with his amiable consort. But still there were numbers in the nation unfriendly to his government. The tories were either his concealed or avowed enemies. Two Scotch regiments had rebelled. He had reason to be convinced, that some of the English troops were disaffected. It was uncertain whether he could place confidence in Lord Dartmouth, the commander of the fleet. These perplexing and more immediate objects of his care, prevented him from paying that early attention to the affairs of Ireland, which they much required. Impressed by a just sense of their situation, he had, in January, by a letter to the convention, pressed them
to

to take into consideration this important object. Some protestant gentlemen who were introduced to him, in order to solicit his interposition in our behalf, saw how heartily he was disposed to comply with their request, but that, until the affairs of England should be settled, he could do nothing effectual in supporting his friends in this country.

IN the mean time, he sent over General Hamilton, then his prisoner, and who had considerable influence with Tyrconnel, to persuade him to resign the government, taking his parole, that if he did not succeed he would return to England. Hamilton was not a man of honor. Instead of persuading his friend to relinquish the government, he advised him to hold it, continued in Ireland and entered into the service of James. With respect to the Lord Lieutenant, in order to gain time, he sent several messages to King William, assuring him that he was ready to give up the government, provided he would furnish him with a decent apology, by sending over any considerable body of forces to demand it. This he well knew, in the present state of affairs, could not be accomplished. However, to carry on the imposition, and to be free of a man disaffected to his cause, he prevailed with Mountjoy to go over to France, to represent to James, that if he had any hopes of regaining the throne, by the assistance of his Irish subjects, they were ill founded, and that he should relinquish the design. This Lord was the dupe of Tyrconnel's insidious policy. Upon his arrival in France, he was cast into prison, whilst chief baron Rice, who had accompanied him, was employed by James in assisting his military operations.

CONTRARY to his express stipulations with Mountjoy, scarcely had he departed, when Tyrconnel began to make vigorous preparations for war,

He gave orders, that twenty additional regiments, each consisting of a thousand men, should be immediately raised by the Roman Catholics. Except in the North, where his commands could not be executed, all the Protestant soldiers in the kingdom, were deprived of the arms which had remained with them. The officers were not even indulged, with the privilege of wearing their swords. For the use of the army, he took from different persons of this denomination, ten thousand horses, without making them any compensation.

Farewell.

LETTER XLVIII.

THOSE of the opposite cause, whose situation would admit of any exertions in support of it, were not discouraged by the violent measures of Tyrconnel.

IN some parts of Ulster, the Protestants had the spirit to proclaim William and Mary. A number of them had assembled in the town of Newry, in military array. Against ~~these~~ a body of troops were detached, under the command of General Hamilton. On the approach of the enemy, they retired, but were overtaken at Dromore and defeated, with considerable loss. Numbers of them were dispersed. Of those who remained, some retired to Coleraine, which they fortified, others retreated to Enniskillen. Lord Blaney had collected a body of Protestants, which he was leading to the assistance of those in Coleraine; they were attacked by the garrisons of Charlemont and Mountjoy, whom they repulsed with slaughter. Some time after, Coleraine was assaulted by the Irish. The place was not tenable. Before it was taken, the garrison forsook it

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and made good their retreat. The only place of refuge, in the more Northern parts, to those who were obliged to fly from the enemy, was Londonderry, the garrison and citizens of which, were about to display efforts of patience, of courage and resolution in the common cause, which have transmitted their memory with admiration to posterity.

WHEN James found himself stripped of his dominions, he applied to the Emperor, as a Roman Catholic prince, for assistance. The answer to his request, instead of being favourable, reproached him with the folly of his past conduct. He had no resource but to cast himself entirely, on the friendship and protection of the King of France. Lewis probably commiserated his helpless situation. He was also united to him by a similarity of principles, both with respect to politics and religion. But his enmity to William, with whom he was now at war, and jealousy of the addition made to his power and greatness, by the acquisition of Britain, was his strongest inducement to give James the assistance he desired. He presented him with four hundred thousand crowns, and an equipage suited to his station as a monarch. He ordered fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire ships to be got ready for the occasion. He would likewise have furnished him men. "No," says James, "I will recover my own dominions with my own subjects, or perish in the attempt." It was a sudden unsteady impulse. His future conduct was quite inconsistent with this spirited declaration. As this country was the object of his intended expedition, he engaged in his service about twelve thousand Irish troops, which were placed under the command of Marshal Rosen. To these were added a hundred French officers, and a number of British and Irish nobility. The Count
D'Avaugh

D'Avaugh, who on former occasions had given him strong proofs of regard, was designed to accompany him as ambassador from France. After various delays, which the intrigues of the ministers of Lewis unnecessarily prolonged, James set sail for Ireland, and on the twelfth of March sixteen hundred and eighty nine, arrived at Kinsale. Tyrconnel met him at Cork, where in reward of his services, he was created a Duke. From Cork he proceeded to Dublin, which he entered in grand procession, accompanied by the magistrates, and by the Roman Catholic clergy, in the habiliments of their respective orders, who in solemn state marched along with an elevated host. Upon enquiring into the state of his affairs, he found them in a favourable situation. His old army was steadily attached to his cause. Thirty thousand foot and eight thousand horse, had been lately raised for his service. No part of Ireland, except Ulster, was disobedient to his authority. Scarcely any troops to oppose him, and the coasts unprovided in ships for their protection.

THE friends of James in Scotland, at the head of whom was his active and zealous partizan Lord Dundee, pressed him to transport immediately his troops into that kingdom, where numbers were ready and well disposed to support his cause. His friends in England entreated him to pass over there, to regain his crown by one bold and vigorous exertion, or perish in the attempt. Ireland they asserted, should be no immediate object of his attention, a great part of which was already in his possession. The fortune of this country would not command that of England, whereas, on the other hand, England would necessarily involve Ireland in it's fate. To these counsels, the advice of the French who were about him, agreeably to their instructions, was

quite opposite. "The Scotch," say they, "cannot be trusted; they betrayed your father; they have exceeded even the English in their opposition to your family; they have excluded not only him but his son, and his son's posterity from the throne." With respect to England, they told him, that there he could not go with a prospect either of safety or of success. Before his army could be embarked, the British fleet would appear and stop its passage. But should he avoid this danger, he must land in the West, where he would have insuperable obstacles to surmount; there a victory would not ensure him success, whereas a defeat would ruin him. On the other hand, should he meet with a defeat in Ireland, by the help of his friends he might rise superior to it. Should he conquer Ireland, it would be a receptacle to those who espoused his cause, was near France, by assistance from which, he would be enabled to pursue his other schemes with success. By these and such arguments, James was determined to continue where he was, and pursue his fortune.

Adieu.

L E T T E R XLIX.

JAMES, on his arrival in Ireland, received addresses from persons of all religious denominations. To those of the Protestants, who being in his power, thought it necessary to pay him this mark of attention, he returned specious assurances of regard. The heart was not concerned in them. His conduct determined his real designs. Every remaining Protestant in the council was turned out, whose places were filled by those of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Having paid the necessary attention to affairs of state, he determined to proceed with his military operations,

operations, the first of which was to attempt the reduction of Derry, which had so early and with so much spirit opposed his arbitrary designs. Hither he led his army in person.

WHEN Mountjoy set off for France, the command of this important place had been committed to Lunday, with respect to the rectitude of whose intentions, his conduct in several instances had created suspicion. A supply of money, of arms and ammunition had been sent to Derry by King William, but before they were delivered to Lunday, he was obliged to take the necessary oaths. But these were no pledge of his fidelity. A mind capable of treachery, is insensible to the force of a religious or moral obligation. He resolved to seize the first opportunity, of betraying the town to the enemy.

WITH a seeming intention to oppose the progress of James, Lunday with his troops had seized certain posts within a few miles of Derry, situated in the line of his march, but when he approached, instead of acting with spirit, he retreated, and shut himself up in the city. At this time, two English regiments, under the command of the Colonels Cunningham and Richards, arrived in Lough Foyle. By the desire of Lunday, the principal officers came up to Derry. A council was then held under his direction, and conducted in the manner conformable to his views, the result of which was that the town was not tenable, that the officers should privately withdraw, and leave the inhabitants to make the best terms they could with King James.

WHEN the people were made acquainted with this scandalous, most reproachful determination, they were exceedingly displeased, and exclaimed in the bitterness of resentment, that they were betrayed by those who were bound to protect them.

Whilst they were indulging the painful feelings, excited by their distressing prospect, Murray, a fine spirited fellow, whose honours still live in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen, appeared at the gates, with a body of horse, which he had brought to the assistance of the garrison. Contrary to the directions of Lunday, they were opened to him by the citizens, with strong expressions of joy and thankfulness. When admitted, the people crowded around him. He addressed them in broken speeches, entreated them "to remember glory, safety, religion, themselves, their country, their posterity," as the present exigency and the feelings of his heart suggested. He gave orders to different persons to shut the gates, to arm, to mount the walls, to point the guns. Those who were resolved to defend the town, he directed to tie a white cloth round their left arm, as a badge of distinction.

LUNDAY was now sitting in council. Murray hastened to him, and used every effort to rouse him to a sense of his duty. But in vain. He was too much lost to the feelings of glory and of honor, to be influenced either by the force of persuasion or the bitterness of reproach. Mean while, James had approached to the walls, probably confident from a reliance on the base intentions of Lunday, that he would meet with no resistance. He was deceived. The citizens animated by the example and exhortations of Murray pointed the guns against him, killed an officer by his side and obliged him to retire. Reflecting upon the decided part they had now taken, upon the greatness of the danger by which they were threatened, and the small strength with which they were provided to oppose it, they beseeched the officers of the two regiments, not to desert them in their extremity. But they were deaf to their entreaties.

treaties. They went off to England, accompanied by a number of other officers, who equally with themselves, were insensible to the feelings of honor and magnanimity. Murray was offered the command of the town; but he modestly declined this honor. Upon which, they chose for governors, Richard Walker a clergyman and Major Barker, the former of whom, by his exertions in their behalf, was conspicuously distinguished.

WALKER was rector of a parish in the county of Tyrone. Warmed by a generous ardour, to be useful to his country at this critical period, he had raised a regiment, and used every endeavour in behalf of the Protestant cause.

WHEN James approached with his army, he retreated to Derry, where it was probable his services would be most wanted. Assisted by the counsels of this valiant ecclesiastic, the citizens proceeded to take the measures, best suited to their present trying situation.

THAT they might not be obliged to maintain those, whose slavish and dastardly spirits rendered them totally unworthy of their regard, all who chose it were permitted to retire. A number left the place, among whom was Lunday, who to avoid public insult, put on a disguise; and stole off with a load upon his back; a situation perfectly worthy of the base sentiments by which he was actuated. About seven hundred and fifty militia, unacquainted with the art of war, remained. The fortifications of the town were weak. Not more than twenty guns were fit for service. James had under his command twenty thousand regular troops. Courage animated by a warm attachment to their dearest privileges, was to this little band of heroes, the best and the noblest substitute they could have, in the place of numbers, of military knowledge, and of the other advantages

advantages of which they were destitute. As might have been expected, their mode of defence was conducted by no fixed rule. If a sally was necessary, or any other service to be performed, the question was proposed; who will engage in it? A volunteer stepped forth, took the lead, and those who chose placed themselves under his command. This produced mutual confidence, and a spirit of generous emulation. The irregularity of their exertions confused the measures of the enemy.

MURRAY, by his efforts, added new laurels to those he had obtained by his first display of magnanimity. The boldness of his actions was equalled by his manly exhortations, "It is not," cried he, "a few military evolutions, nor the movements of arms by rule, the mere parade and foppery of war, which make soldiers, but strong bodies, stronger minds, the contempt of dangers and of death."

A noble spirit of enthusiasm in the common cause, animated equally the breasts of the old and the young. The women were raised superior to that sensibility of danger, which is natural to their sex. They assisted at the works, they wrought with their hands, they encouraged the men to persevere with resolution, in their glorious undertaking. James battered the town for eleven days, without any effect. Having been able to accomplish nothing, except the inconsiderable achievement of reducing the fort of Culmore, he left the army and retired to Dublin, in disgust.

HAD the preservation of the besieged depended on causes, within the reach of human wisdom and courage, they had little to fear; but they began to be threatened with evils, against which they could make no defence. The heat of the weather produced a pestilential disorder that was fatal to numbers

bers of them, and they were threatened with a scarcity of provisions. Whilst they were labouring under the first of these distresses, and afflicted by the prospect of the other, which was still more calamitous, thirty ships, with provisions and five thousand men, sent from England to their relief, appeared in the Lough. To prevent their approach, the Irish had stretched a boom across the narrowest part of the river, and planted batteries on each of the opposite shores. Upon this appearance of danger, Kirk, who commanded the armament, instead of behaving with the intrepidity of a soldier, or discovering any tenderness for the situation of those gallant men, involved in circumstances deeply interesting, set sail and carried his ships around to Lough Swilly.

Sir John Fenwick, in his confession of a plot about this time formed in England, by several persons of consequence, in favour of James, declared, that Kirk had entered into the views of the conspirators. May not this explain his shameful conduct on the present occasion? Hope now forsook the besieged, but not their heroick courage, a trial of which more severe, does not occur in the annals of history. To heighten their feelings occasioned by the late grievous disappointment, they had the mortification to know, that the French fleet had defeated that of the English, commanded by Admiral Herbert, and had brought a supply of men and of stores for the service of their allies. Their distresses multiplied. Among those carried off by death was Baker one of their governors. Mitchelbourne, a man in whom they confided, was substituted in his place. Fifteen officers were buried in one day. Though from want and fatigue, numbers were unable to support their arms, death was threatened to the man who should speak of surrendering. The accomplishment

accomplishment of what could not be effected by power, was now attempted by a horrid device. The cruel Rosen, who commanded the besiegers, collected all the Protestants of every sex and age for miles round, and drove them under the walls, hoping that he would compel the garrison to submit, by this shocking act of inhumanity. But instead of gaining his point, the magnanimity of these wretched sufferers, helped to strengthen the resolution of the besieged, in this dreadful alternative. Close by the walls, they fell down upon their knees, and beseeched the garrison to persevere in their defence, without paying any regard to their condition. To force the Irish from this detestable purpose, the citizens erected a gallows, and threatened, that if they persisted in it, they would hang the prisoners. Whether this would have served any end is uncertain. Three days and three nights, did these miserable Protestants continue exposed to cold, to perpetual danger, and to famine, when by the express orders of James, Rosen permitted them to depart.

WHEN we consider what must have been the feelings of these unhappy victims, when torn from their habitations, what they suffered by the way, and under the walls of Derry, and how greatly their calamities must have been aggravated, after crawling homewards, filled with the seeds of sickness and disease, on seeing themselves bereft of their property, their houses in flames, the miseries of want staring them in the face; a scene more pitiable in itself, and more deeply marked with the characters of cruelty, does not perhaps occur in the history of mankind.

BUT, to return to Derry, where likewise there is not a line in the picture, not filled with wretchedness. The distress of the besieged was now encreased

ed, almost beyond conception. Destitute of human food, they were forced to subsist upon the flesh of of horses, dogs and other creatures of that kind, at which, unless when reduced to extreme necessity, the stomach revolts with nauseating disgust. Even this resource failed; they were cut off from every supply for almost two days.

THE animating encouragement, and manly example of Walker, were of admirable use to them in this deplorable situation. He pointed to the sky, to the churches. These were the holy fanes from which their enemies were to drive them, if they survived, with disgrace; this the asylum prepared for them by their God, if they died with glory in his cause. He ascended the pulpit, and assured them that the Almighty would interpose in their behalf. As if this had been dictated by a prophetic spirit, the assembly had scarcely departed from his instructions, when three ships were discovered sailing up the channel. They were the ships of Kirk, who now was obliged to do what he could have done before with honor, and with much greater safety. The Dartmouth frigate led the van. The two ships which followed were filled with provisions. The feeble emaciated garrison crowded to the walls, with deep anxiety and expectation, to behold an event which was either to rescue them from misery, or extinguish for ever the last gleam of hope. As the ships advanced, the batteries of the enemy played upon them incessantly. They returned the fire with spirit and resolution. One of the victuallers, which now occupied the foremost station, as she was passing on, struck the boom. It broke, but unfortunately, by the rebound, she struck the bottom and stuck fast. The enemy, taking advantage of this circumstance, attacked her with redoubled impetuosity.

petuosity. But happily, by the firing of her guns, she was extricated, and accompanied by the other two ships, came up to the quay. Upon this, the Irish shortly decamped.

It has been mentioned, that when the siege commenced, there were in the city, who bore arms, about seven thousand five hundred men. During the continuance of it, by the enemy, by famine and disease, three thousand two hundred had lost their lives. Of the remainder, a thousand were unfit for service; the condition of such of them as had sustained the least injury, from the accumulated miseries they had endured, may easily be conceived. Considerable numbers of those who did not bear arms perished. The siege had began the middle of April, and was raised the thirty first of July.

THIS memorable event is a striking example, of the exertions of which men are capable, and the difficulties they are enabled to support, in the cause of religion, of liberty and their country. As in itself, it is so exceedingly interesting, and the fate of the kingdom so much depended on it, I have given you a more particular account of it, than with respect to such matters in general, is consistent with the limits of my design.

Farewell.

L E T T E R L.

DURING the siege of Derry, the army of James had lost eight thousand men. The remainder had scarcely begun to move off, when the garrison, notwithstanding their enfeebled state, sallied forth, and for some time hung upon their rear, as they proceeded to Strabane. In the present war, the Derrymen were of all others most eminently distinguished.

tinguished. Numbers behaved in a manner, at this interesting period, which reflects honor upon their memory; in particular, a tribute of praise is due to the gallant Enniskilleners. These spirited defenders of their country and the Protestant cause, put themselves under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, and openly proclaimed their allegiance to William and Mary. Early in the present dispute, Crum-Castle, situated in the neighbourhood of Enniskillen, had been attacked by a party of Irish commanded by Lord Galmoy. The Enniskilleners came up to it's relief, and defeated the assailants.

Two armies of the enemy were now in the field. One of them, at the head of which was General Sarfield, was attacked and defeated by the Protestants with considerable slaughter. The other, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, directed it's course to Enniskillen, which, after some inconsiderable success, the approach of General Hamilton obliged to retire. Once more Crum-Castle was invested. Macarthy, an Irish officer, sat down before it with seven thousand men. A motion of the Enniskilleners to relieve the place, brought on a general engagement with the enemy near Newtownbutler, in which the former obtained a compleat victory. The courage and persevering exertions of the Protestants, on this occasion, were conspicuous; but to the common soldiers of the Irish they scarcely gave any quarter. What a pity, that by this violation of the laws of humanity, they should have stained the glory of so honourable an atchievement! The victory at Newtownbutler made a deeper impression on the enemy, as it happened just about the time of their being obliged to raise the siege of Derry.

On his return to Dublin from the North, James had convened a meeting of the parliament. The
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pains taken to secure a majority of the commons, favourable to the views of government, have been already mentioned. With respect to the lords, many of the Protestant peers had left the kingdom; the outlawries of several Popish Lords had been reversed; Roman Catholics had lately been created peers. In consequence, there were but nine Protestant lords, temporal and spiritual, in the upper house. Six excepted, all the lower house consisted of Roman Catholics. The proceedings of this parliament, were expressive of the most zealous attachment to the interest of James. They addressed him in warm terms of loyalty and affection, they addressed Lewis of France for the assistance he had given him. They passed an act to recognize his title to the throne, and stigmatizing the Prince of Orange as an usurper. To cut off the means by which the power of his enemies was supported, they repealed, without exception, the acts of settlement and explanation. In the preamble of the bill, which they enacted for this purpose, the Irish were justified with respect to the insurrection of sixteen hundred and forty one, and a clause inserted, by which the estates of all in the three kingdoms were forfeited, who had taken up arms against James, or aided those who did rebel, or held any correspondence with them, from the first of August sixteen hundred and eighty eight. Their next measure was not only highly impolitic, but set at open defiance, every principle of equity, of justice and moderation. They attainted, as guilty of high treason, all persons, attached to the Prince of Orange, now absent, who should not return to the kingdom against a certain day, without making any allowance for age, sickness, infirmity, or any other circumstance, which might prevent those who were inclined, from complying with the injunction. By this act James was put in possession

sion of the estates of the absentees, none of whom he had it in his power to pardon after the following November. There were affected by it a great number of the nobility of both sexes, fifty one knights, eighty three clergymen, and near three thousand persons of inferior quality. It is perfectly astonishing, but so iniquitous were the principles of those who conducted this business, that the law which subjected so many persons to so grievous a penalty, in respect to their lives and property, was not published until the time expired, within which they were permitted to surrender. A statute was likewise enacted by which it was declared, that acts of the British legislature could not bind Ireland, and by which writs of error and appeals to England were taken away.

THE parliament granted James a monthly subsidy of twenty thousand pounds. But this prodigious sum was not adequate to his necessities; therefore, by an exertion of his prerogative, he imposed another tax equal to it. The tyrannical principles he possessed, which in both kingdoms had excited the indignation of the friends of liberty, and deprived him of his throne, are strongly marked in the reply which he made, to those who expostulated with him on such an illegal stretch of power, "If I cannot do this," says he, "I can do nothing." He now had recourse to a most detestable expedient to recruit his finances, which notwithstanding all the pains taken to supply them, were still deficient. A mint was established, in which, by his order, a base sort of copper was coined into different pieces, which he stamped with a value three hundred times greater than their intrinsic worth. All employed by him in civil and military departments, were obliged to receive them in payment, by proclamation. This vile coin, the Protestants were forced

to take, for the commodities which they sold to them. To guard against the loss they were likely to sustain by it, they purchased with it various articles of commerce, of which James forcibly deprived them, without giving them in return any equivalent. This transaction, not only with respect to those who were hostile to his cause, but his friends, was attended with distressing circumstances of tyranny.

PROTESTANTS had suffered much under the government of Tyrconnel. Their hardships were now multiplied. Contrary to his positive engagement when he first arrived in the kingdom, James, because the fellows would not receive into their number a Roman Catholic, whom he had before endeavoured to impose upon them, forcibly ejected them from the university. He treated the scholars in the same manner. The office of provost and library keeper were filled with Papists. In the college was placed a garrison. The chapel was converted into a magazine, and several of the rooms into prisons. Furniture, the library, plate, every thing belonging to it were seized for the use of government. Numbers of the reformed clergy were deprived of their churches, and of the means of subsistence. At last a proclamation was issued, by which more than five persons, on pain of death, were forbidden to assemble together, in any church in the city of Dublin.

DURING these transactions, Lord Dundee had used every possible effort to support the interest of James, in the highlands of Scotland. In June, the King had sent over to his assistance, a reinforcement of five hundred men, but to no purpose. The battle of Killikranksy, notwithstanding the complete victory he obtained, over the troops of General Mackay,

kay, was fatal to the life of Dundee, with him all the hopes of James perished in that quarter.

Adieu.

LETTER LI.

THE affairs of England having been restored, in some measure, to a state of tranquillity, King William was enabled to turn his attention more particularly, to the situation of this country. To reduce it to obedience, it was indispensibly necessary, that he should transport hither a considerable body of forces. But being afraid to trust the fidelity of the troops, who had served under James, he raised for this service twenty three new regiments, to whom he resolved to join two battalions of Dutchmen, four of French refugees, some Scotch regiments, and six thousand mercenary Danes. The conduct of this expedition was committed to Marshal Schomberg, an officer of distinguished reputation. Count Solmes was made second in command.

IN reward of Schomberg's past services, and to animate him to the duties of the important enterprise, in which he was engaged, the King conferred upon him the garter and a dukedom, and the parliament presented him with ten thousand pounds. Chester was the place appointed for the armament to embark. When Schomberg arrived here, he met with several delays. The troops could not be collected, a sufficient number of transports were not ready, nor had proper care been taken with respect to the soldiers' cloaths, and other necessaries. At last he embarked, and on the thirteenth of August, landed near Bangor in the county of Down, with about six thousand men. The places contiguous were immediately abandoned by the enemy,

except Carrickfergus, of which they determined, if possible, to keep possession. The English general attacked it by sea and land, and obliged the garrison to capitulate in four days. Here he was joined by more of the troops from England, by the forces which Kirk had brought over to Ireland, and by the brave Enniskilleners.

As the artillery horses had not yet arrived, he ordered the cannon by sea to Carlingford, whilst he conducted the army thither by land. Before he advanced, the enemy burned that town and Newry. He put a stop to such barbarities, by declaring that if they persisted in them he would shew no quarter. Schomberg proceeded forward, until he came within a mile of Dundalk.

As the fleet with the cannon and other necessaries had not yet arrived, and his men, a great part of whom were new levies, had considerably suffered by their march, here he encamped. On the front, towards the West, a river protected him from the enemy, on the West, Newry mountains, and on the North, hills and bogs intermixed.

BUT there were other evils, which he could not prevent, and by which he was exceedingly injured. Unprovided in many necessaries, prevented from exercise, confined in a damp situation, and exposed to rainy weather, his soldiers were seized by sickness, which a pestilential disease, that unfortunately broke out in the camp, greatly aggravated. From these distresses, the enemy who were encamped on the neighbouring hills, and in full command of the open country, were in a great measure exempted. This favourable circumstance, their great superiority in numbers and other advantages, induced them to use every endeavour to bring Schomberg to an engagement, but he carefully avoided a battle, in
which,

which, it appears from his letters, where he gives a very affecting view, of the many unfavourable circumstances and distresses in his situation, he was perfectly justified.

UPON the approach of Winter, each army broke up their camp in order to retire into quarters. That of the English presented a scene of human calamity, quite shocking to the imagination. The whole camp, from the number of the diseased, appeared like one common hospital. When the sick were to be removed, from an apprehension of the aggravating pains they were about to endure, they filled the air with their cries and lamentations. The miseries they anticipated were more than realized. By the jolting of the waggons, the severity of the weather, the groans of the dying around them, and the sight of the dead bodies, which strewed the road as they passed along, their situation was rendered dreadful beyond description. Some of them cried out in anguish to their companions for assistance; others, sunk by their sufferings into the depth of despair, adjured those around to kill them and put an end to their misery. The most obdurate beholders could not look at such spectacles of wretchedness, without exquisite sensibility. Schomberg was deeply afflicted by the general calamity, which by every attention in his power, he endeavoured to alleviate. He was eighty years of age, and therefore ill qualified, for bearing the distresses of such an affecting scene. From the time that the soldiers entered the camp, eight thousand of them died of distemperature.

Farewell.

THE people of England being much disappointed, made loud complaints with respect to this unfortunate expedition. Tories in particular took advantage of it, to enflame the discontents of those, who were disposed to be dissatisfied with the revolution. In the house of commons, strict enquiries were made concerning the causes of the ill success, which had attended the operations of the army. Among others, it appeared that Shales the purveyor, had been highly culpable, with respect to several matters entrusted to his care, more especially the artillery and provisions. In consequence of which he was seized and ordered into custody.

MEAN while, Schomberg exerted himself with the greatest industry, to put himself into a capacity of retrieving his late misfortune. He used every means, and that successfully, of restoring to health the diseased soldiers. He sent to England for recruits, to fill up the place of those who had perished. By the co-operation of government with his endeavours, a reinforcement of Danes was sent to him, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, which considerably encreased his strength. These efforts, the defeat of the Duke of Berwick at Cavan by the Enniskilleners, with the apprehension, that the enemy would receive still more formidable assistance from England, previous to the ensuing campaign, obliged James to apply to France for a reinforcement. Lewis sent him five thousand soldiers, under the command of Count Lauzun. For them, he exchanged an equal number of his own subjects, whom he found from experience, to be incapable, of themselves, to support his exertions for recovery of
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the crown. He thought also, that by this means, a spirit of emulous competition would be excited in the soldiers of both nations.

In Spring, the English reduced Charlemont, a place of considerable importance. Schomberg detached Caillemot, a spirited officer, 1690. against it with a body of troops. O'Regan the governor, made a brave defence, but want of provisions obliged him to surrender.

For some time, William had resolved to come over and take upon him in person, the conduct of the Irish war. The same party spirit, which had created to him in other respects perplexing difficulties, delayed the execution of this design. From the beginning, he had nothing to expect from the disaffected, but opposition to the measures of his government. That his endeavours to promote the public good should be counteracted, that in almost every instance, he should experience the most unfriendly jealousy, from the very men who had placed him on the throne; men who by every tie of honor and every principle of gratitude, were called upon to treat him with that respect and veneration, due to the friend of their violated rights and the saviour of their country, was a circumstance of which he could have had no conception.

He felt it with the strongest displeasure. In his moments of bitter chagrin, he had thoughts of relinquishing the government, and of returning to Holland, to be delivered from the inquietudes, arising from such dishonourable and unmerited usage. As the parliament could not be prevailed with, to grant him the necessary supplies, he dissolved it, changed his ministers, cast himself upon the Tories who engaged to support him, and having committed the government to the Queen, accompanied by Prince

George of Denmark, and a number of his most respectable nobility, set off for Ireland, and to the unspeakable joy of the friends of liberty and the Protestant religion, arrived at Carrickfergus on the fourteenth of June sixteen hundred and ninety. He had not a moment to lose. His absence from England was quite inconvenient, even dangerous to his affairs. Parties there were still in a commotion, each pursuing their respective objects, with a degree of intemperance, which even his own presence was insufficient to restrain.

FRANCE was busy in making formidable preparations; every hour strengthened the impressions unfavourable to his cause, occasioned by the disappointments of the last campaign. James daily increased in force. Having received an address from the Protestant clergy of Ulster, and issued a proclamation, by which he declared, that all dutiful subjects should be protected in their rights, and enjoined all officers and soldiers to observe strict military discipline, and in no respects to injure the inhabitants, he set off with his army.

At Hillsborough, from a sense of justice and of gratitude, to men who had suffered much in his cause, and were strongly attached to the principles of the revolution, he granted by warrant twelve hundred pounds annually, to the ministers of Presbyterian dissenting congregations in Ireland. Charles the Second had made them a similar acknowledgement, for their attachment to the crown.

ALL his forces being collected from their several quarters of cantonment, met the King at Loughbrickland. He reviewed them with minute attention, and discovered a particular solicitude, that they should be provided with every necessary; of this he was more anxious, than that he himself should have the
Luxuries

luxuries suited to his rank. "Let them not want, I shall drink water," was the reply which he made to a person, who produced him an order to be signed, for wine to his own table. As they marched along, he was all attention, sometimes in the van, sometimes in the rear, examining the country through which they were to pass, and every thing in which they were concerned, with a tenderness and care highly pleasing to them.

As he advanced to Dundalk, the army of James retreated, and took post on the opposite banks of the Boyne.

THE counsellors of James were of different opinions, with respect to the part he should act on the present occasion. Said some of the officers he consulted, "France is ready to invade England, and also prepared to attack the British transports, whenever the ships of war return by which they are now protected; if therefore he would strengthen the garrisons, retreat to Munster, and there use the most effectual methods of annoying the enemy, he would be ready to take advantage of either of these events, which should it happen, would oblige William to evacuate the kingdom, and leave him without a competitor, to pursue the entire conquest of it. Whereas, if he risked an engagement, and it should prove unfortunate, his cause would be irretrievably ruined."

In opposition to this advice, others of his friends were of opinion, "that if he turned his back upon the English, and waged a defensive war, it would ruin his reputation, discourage his adherents, and thus blast all his flattering prospects." James adopted these sentiments, and determined to fight, to which he was induced by the additional consideration, that
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the present position of his army was much to his advantage.

Adieu.

L E T T E R LIII.

EARLY in the morning of the last day of June, the Protestant troops advanced to the banks of the Boyne. The Irish army was encamped on the opposite side. To their right lay Drogheda, which James occupied by a garrison, on their left a difficult morass, which communicated by a narrow pass with the bridge of Slain, that lay three miles higher up the river. In front lay the Boyne, secured by steep rugged banks and some pieces of artillery, on their rear lay the village of Donore and narrow pass of Duleek. Donore stood on high ground, from which there was a prospect of the adjacent country.

As King William was reconnoitring their situation, he was observed by the enemy, a party of whom under cover of a hedge, brought down towards the river a field piece unperceived, and fired at him. The ball wounded him slightly. Upon this accident, numbers of his attendants gathered around, anxious to know the injury he had received, and to give him the necessary assistance. From this circumstance, the Irish concluded he was slain. The report flew to Dublin, and from thence to Paris, where it was firmly believed, and public rejoicings made on account of it.

WILLIAM, whom Providence mercifully preserved, to be a farther blessing to these kingdoms, mounted his horse, and rode through the camp, to dissipate any fears which his troops might have entertained, in respect to his safety. In the evening he
called

called a council of war, not to ask their opinion, the state of his affairs being too critical to admit of deliberation, but to inform them, that he was resolved to pass the Boyne next morning to fight the enemy, and to give some instructions to the officers in their several departments. He did not then communicate to them the plan of the battle; when late he sent it to their tents. He suspected that some of them were disaffected to his cause, who had they received earlier information of it, might have conveyed it to the Irish.

ACCORDING to the plan, the army was to be led to the charge in three divisions; that on the right, to be commanded by count Schomberg and General Douglas, the center by Duke Schomberg, and the left by King William. The river had been carefully examined, and in the places pointed out, was to be crossed separately, by each of these divisions.

THE army of William consisted of thirty six thousand men, that of James, of thirty three thousand.

EARLY next morning, the auspicious first of July, the right wing set off rapidly up the river. James saw this movement from the heights of Donore, and supposing that the whole of the English army would take the same direction, sent off large detachments to opposite banks of the river. Count Schomberg pressed on, with so much expedition, that before they could get forward to intercept him, he reached the ford above the bridge of Slain, which he intended to pass, crossed it, and led his men down the river with intrepidity. Astonished at his boldness, the enemy gave way and fled. Encouraged by this success, the part of the center composed of the Dutch guards and Brandenburgers, the former leading the van, advanced to the Boyne, which

which they passed with considerable difficulty, dislodged the enemy, and made good their ground on the opposite bank. Here they formed, and advanced forwards, supported by a body of English, and by the French Hugonots, and the Danes, who by this time had passed the river. Upon their approach, General Hamilton who with the horse and a part of the Irish infantry, had been posted on the rising grounds, attacked them with impetuosity. Unable to withstand the shock they broke, and retreated in confusion. Here Caillemot, the brave leader of the Hugonots, received a mortal wound; as his soldiers were carrying him bleeding off the field of battle, he exerted his utmost strength, and thus animated his men to recover their lost honor, with his expiring breath, "to glory, my boys! to glory!" At this critical moment, Duke Schomberg, with a corps de reserve, passed rapidly through the river, placed himself at the head of the Hugonots, and pointing to some French regiments which he meant to attack, "come on gentlemen," says he, "there are your persecutors." He spoke no more. As he was advancing to the charge, a party of Hamilton's dragoons, who had pressed on to the river, and were returning from the pursuit, as they passed by, wounded and took him prisoner. The Hugonots fired upon them in a hurry, without knowing that Schomberg was among them, and unfortunately killed him.

THE center of both armies had now recovered from their confusion, and were again preparing to engage, when the attention of the right wing of the Irish was turned to King William, who, having crossed the river towards Drogheda, was bearing down upon them rapidly, at the head of his cavalry. They shrunk from the attack, wheeled about, and retreated;

ed; but after a little, they faced round, and attacked the English horse with such spirit, that they forced them in their turn to give way. The Enniskilleners were near. In this emergence, his Majesty rode up to them, and asked, "What will you do for me?" Their conduct in this trying circumstance, was worthy of the honorable character they had hitherto sustained. They advanced with intrepidity to the charge. After some time, the infantry of the enemy were finally repulsed. Their horse likewise refused longer to sustain the conflict. Nothing now remained for the officers, but to collect their scattered forces and to conduct the retreat, which they did with great order and regularity.

IN this memorable and decisive engagement, the goodness of Providence to these nations, which hath so often appeared in their favour, was signally manifested. Upon it depended the safety of the Protestant religion, and the liberty of the British empire. From the present critical situation of affairs, there is every reason to suppose, that had James been victorious, he would have been reinstated on the throne. Irritated by opposition, triumphant over all his enemies, and free from every restraint, nothing then could have been expected, but that he would have trampled upon our rights civil and religious, and adopted the most arbitrary designs, as the ruling principles of his government.

IN the battle of the Boyne, the English lost five hundred men, the Irish were supposed to have lost three times the number.

NOTHING can afford a more striking contrast, than the conduct of King William and that of James during the engagement. William from the beginning of the battle, was all alive, all spirit, and attentive to every circumstance. His activity was unremitting,

mitting, and his courage most conspicuous. Wherever his presence and his example were necessary, he discharged his duty with magnanimity, though often exposed to the most imminent danger. Amidst the exertions of his courage, and the confusions inseparable from such a scene, he was perfectly collected; of which the following is a very remarkable instance:—In the heat of the engagement, one of his own soldiers, through mistake, supposing him to be an enemy, presented a pistol to his head; William, not in the least disconcerted by this imminent danger, calmly put it by “what, said he, do not you know your friends? James instead of mingling in the battle, or discharging with spirit the duties of a general, upon an occasion in which the lives of his principal friends were at stake, and in which his honor and fortunes were so deeply interested, kept himself at a distance from the scene of action, as if he had been no more concerned in the event than a common spectator. Did this proceed from any want of confidence in the rectitude of his cause? When James was admiral of the British fleet; he exhibited proofs of distinguished courage. His conduct during the action and subsequent to it were equally disgraceful. Though in a country devoted to his service, he might have kept the field, and easily repaired the inconsiderable loss he had sustained, immediately after the engagement, he hastened to Dublin, where he assembled the magistrates and council; expressed much dissatisfaction at the conduct of his troops; told them that Providence did not seem to favour his cause, that he was still interested in their welfare, but that it was most prudent for them, in the present emergence, to submit to the Prince of Orange. He then proceeded with all possible expedition to Waterford, and embarked
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for France. His departure was hastened by a letter from Lewis, in which he pressed him to go over, to embark with a body of troops, which he was then preparing for the invasion of England. But when he was informed that James had been vanquished at the Boyne, and that his affairs had so very unfavourable an aspect, he dropt the design.

Adieu.

L E T T E R L I V .

THE life of William had been very much chequered, by the vicissitudes of prosperous and adverse fortune. Of this he experienced a striking instance, on the present occasion. Immediately after the late battle, he received intelligence from England, that soon after his departure, a most dangerous plot against his government had been discovered; that a number of the conspirators were seized, but that how many more were concerned in it, it was impossible to say; that a French fleet, by concert, in order to favour the design, having appeared off the English coast, was attacked by Lord Torrington, the British admiral, off Beachy Head, whom they defeated, and obliged to retire to the Thames; that about the same time, the Dutch army had come to an engagement, at Flirus, with that of France, and had the misfortune to be vanquished. This combination of unfavourable circumstances, pointed out to him the necessity of hastening from Ireland, with all possible expedition. But he could not return immediately, without risking all the advantages of which he had now the fairest prospect.

THE garrison of Drogheda, intimidated by the late success of his arms, dropt all thoughts of opposition, and permitted his troops to take possession of the

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the town. He then proceeded to Dublin, which had submitted to his government, publicly returned thanks to God for the signal victory he had granted him, received an address from the Protestant clergy, and then returned to his army which he had left encamped at Finglas. Here he published a proclamation, by which, all in arms of a lower class, were promised pardon, upon submitting to his authority. Had the King, on reasonable terms, extended the offer of forgiveness, to the persons principally concerned in the rebellion, it is highly probable they would have embraced it, and that the nation would immediately have returned to a state of tranquillity. But he was prevailed with to except them, by the influence of those, who cast a rapacious eye on the property of others, which they wished to possess, insensible to the obligations of justice, and to the interest of their country. Commissioners were appointed, to ascertain and take possession of the forfeited lands. These harpies violated protections, oppressed the weak; they executed their orders, in violation of the common dictates of humanity. The leading men of the Irish, who had espoused the interest of James, being thus driven to extremity, resolved to continue the war.

As the exception in the proclamation was indeterminate, pointing out only in general terms, "the desperate leaders in the rebellion," every man feared for himself, who could possibly be affected by it. It was the interest and the study of all these, to prevent those of an inferior order from laying down their arms. Hence the offer of pardon could have little effect.

WILLIAM now put his army in motion, and proceeding along the sea coast, so as to preserve the communication with his fleet, advanced to Munster.
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In a short time, Wexford, Clonmell, Waterford and the fort of Duncannon surrendered to his arms.

By this time, the French fleet had appeared a second time on the British coast. The King determined immediately to embark for England; but, being informed that the enemy, without effecting any thing of consequence, had retired, he changed his intention, and went on with his military operations. The principal object which now engaged his attention was Limerick. Here he advanced with a considerable part of his troops, where shortly after his arrival, he was joined by General Douglas, who with a detachment, had made an unsuccessful attack upon Athlone. Limerick was well fortified, more especially that part of it called English-town. Boileau a Frenchman commanded the garrison, which consisted of fourteen regiments of foot and five of cavalry, besides a body of forces for it's assistance, which was posted in the vicinity, under the command of Tyrconnel. On being summoned to surrender, Boileau returned this spirited reply, "I wish to gain the Prince of Orange's good opinion, which I cannot obtain, unless I defend well the post committed to my care." His valorous conduct justified this magnanimity. The siege commenced. When the King left Dublin, he did not bring along with him his train of battering cannon. It was now coming forward to him. Sarsfield, one of the Irish generals, having received intelligence of this, set out with a detachment from Limerick; surprised the escort, cut it off, and destroyed the artillery. King William, who had heard of the march of Sarsfield, sent Sir John Lanier with five hundred men to intercept him, but he escaped, and returned safe to Limerick.

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To remedy this disaster, cannon was collected from different places, and the siege conducted with spirit. The town was defended with equal resolution. At last, a breach was made in the walls of some considerable size. Five hundred grenadiers advanced to the assault, repulsed the enemy and passed the breach. A number of them passed into the town. The garrison now rallied, attacked the assailants in their turn, killed or wounded almost the whole of them, and advanced to the breach which they obstinately defended. Three hours was the assault continued with great violence, and sustained by the enemy with obstinate valour. King William, having five hundred men killed, more than a thousand wounded, and finding that farther efforts would be vain, drew off his men. Several unfavourable circumstances, particularly the advanced season, and the probable consequences of it to the health and safety of his troops, determined him to give up the design. He raised the siege. Having created Lord Sydney, and Thomas Koningsby justices, and placed the army under the command of Count Solmes and General Ginkle, he left the kingdom.

UPON his arrival in England, finding that there were five hundred troops unemployed, and that the the French fleet was laid up for the season, he resolved to send them to Ireland, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough, to reduce Cork and Kinsale, a design which he had formed before he left this country. About the middle of September, Marlborough landed near Cork, and being reinforced by near five thousand men, laid siege to that town. But shortly after, the Duke of Wirtemberg arrived in the Camp. He was a sovereign Prince and therefore claimed the command. Marlborough pleaded that

that it was his right by the King's appointment. But, that the public service might not be injured by this dispute, he submitted to a compromise. They agreed to command each day alternately. The attack having been continued for some time, a breach was made in the wall, upon which preparations were got ready for an assault. The garrison wanted ammunition. Being thus deprived of the means of making farther resistance, it capitulated. Next day after the surrender, Brigadier Villiers was detached to Kinsale, with five hundred men. Upon their approach, the governor set fire to the town and retired, with a resolution to maintain two forts, situated in the neighbourhood. Against one of the forts, the operations commenced on the last day of September, and the second of October it was taken by storm. The other was then attacked. In ten days it surrendered. In about three weeks, the whole business was finished. This rapid success gained Marlborough much reputation.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LV.

COUNT Solmes having departed from Ireland, the sole command of the army had devolved upon Ginkle, who now removed into Winter quarters. The situation of the country became truly deplorable. The Irish, having little to subsist upon but the brass money, jealous of the French, who affected to treat them as inferiors, provoked by the success of the English, and particularly irritated by the forfeiture of their lands, indulged themselves without restraint, in acts of rapacity. The French engaged on their side, imitated this example. The English wanted pay, and were thus tempted to be-

have in the same unjustifiable manner; the French engaged in their cause, the Germans and the Danes were not subject to restraint, as they considered themselves in the country of an enemy. The Dutch only, by avoiding these acts of shameful excess, and adhering to the rules of strict military discipline, reflected honor on themselves and their country. The Tories, on the present occasion, gave full scope to their licentiousness, and by their robberies aggravated the common calamity. It was still heightened by the perpetual quarrels of the contending parties. Virulent animosities subsisted betwixt French and Irish, English and natives, Protestant and Roman Catholic, loyalist and rebel. Pride, a sense of contemptuous treatment, bigotry, difference in political principles, want, conspired to increase the general misery. The justices laboured to correct these dreadful evils, and to restore the public tranquillity. Courts of law were fixed; civil officers for the several counties, and a regular militia were established; the commission of forfeitures was superseded; proclamations forbidding quarrels, and all acts of licentious excess were issued; but these exertions had no influence on those who were hostile to government; with respect to the military engaged in support of it, the Dutch only excepted, they were most unwilling to be amenable to civil authority. It was supported by the efforts of Ginkle, who was a man of justice and humanity, but these were found to be insufficient. In a short time, one cause of the general confusion was removed. Lewis finding the affairs of this country to be so unpromising, and that the situation of the Irish was such, as to induce them to continue to oppose government, though unassisted by foreign aid, recalled the most considerable part of his troops from Ireland,

land. Those here who had fought on the side of James, were much displeased on account of the indifference, with which he seemed to treat their affairs. They declared, that though he should desert them, yet depending upon their own resources, they would carry on the war. Tyrconnel had been sent over to France on their behalf, for supplies, and returned with the inconsiderable sum of eight thousand pounds. Before, his counsels had been violent to an extreme, misfortune had taught him moderation. Now the Irish accused him of being lukewarm in their interest; some even charged him with treachery. He was dismissed, in consequence of their representations, from the administration of civil affairs, which he had for some time conducted, and the management of them committed to others. There was scarcely a man from whom he did not merit disgrace, James excepted. Sarsfield had likewise served him with courage and fidelity; at Limerick in particular. He also was removed, and the command of the Irish troops given to Saint Ruth, whose principles, in respect to religion, being of the same intolerant complexion with those of James, had recommended him to his favour. He had been a sanguinary instrument in the persecution of the French Hugonots.

GINKLE opened the campaign with taking the fort of Ballymore. It had been garrisoned 1691. by a thousand men, and was well fortified by the Irish, in the course of the Winter. This opened his way to Athlone. Hither, with a spirited, well appointed army, in which there were a number of officers of high station, and of the first military character, he now directed his march.

ATHLONE consisted of two parts, the English and the Irish town; the former lay on this, the latter on

the opposite side of the Shannon. They communicated by a bridge. Ginkle assaulted and took possession of the English town; the enemy fled over the bridge with precipitation. To prevent their pursuers from entering the opposite town with them, the farther arch of the bridge was broken down. A number of the fugitives were still on this side, all of whom either fell by the sword, or perished in the river. The English intrenched, and battered down part of the walls of the Irish town. There was a ford in the river, deep, stony, impassable by more than twenty men in a rank, below this they proposed to throw over the Shannon a bridge of pontoons; at the same time they erected on the other bridge, a wooden work, in order to assist and to protect men, to be employed in casting large beams across the broken arch. The only part of the opposite bank which was accessible, being strongly guarded by the Irish, rendered the former of these attempts impracticable. To the latter Ginkle directed the whole of his attention. With great labour, the passage over the broken arch was completed, but the enemy attacked and destroyed it. Once more it was completed, but at the critical moment, just as the troops were about to begin the attack, a grenade from the Irish set fire to the wooden work, constructed on the bridge, by which a considerable part of it was consumed. The arch could not now be attempted without a risk of certain destruction.

GINKLE was reduced to a most perplexing dilemma. On all quarters the town appeared to be inaccessible. A great part of his provisions was consumed; besides he had not used the necessary precautions for securing a retreat. He was conscious of blame in another respect; though vested with powers

ers from the King for that purpose, he had neglected to publish a pardon, which might have prevented all his present difficulties. In this distressing situation, he called a council of war, to deliberate upon the measure most proper to be adopted. It was determined to attempt the passage of the ford. Accordingly next day, two thousand men led on by General Mackay entered it, animated by the love of glory, by the prospect of reward, and the shouts of their fellow soldiers. They pressed forward intrepidly, amidst a dreadful fire from the enemy, made good the opposite bank, and advanced to the breaches. In half an hour the English General was in possession of Athlone. Saint Ruth, who had lain in the neighbourhood with the Irish army, but who behaved on the present occasion with shameful remissness, made a vain effort to recover it. With the town, the castle, and five hundred men by whom it was defended, surrendered to the English.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LVI.

IT is highly probable, that the influence of those, in whose breasts the desire of forfeitures was predominant, over every principle of justice, every sentiment of patriotism, and all regard to the rights of humanity, had prevented Ginkle from issuing his Majesty's proclamation of pardon. In spite of all opposition he now published it. Immediately after, the lords justices followed it by another, in which they offered a pardon to all officers and soldiers, who should submit to King William. Commanders surrendering their forts, and officers who should bring over to government their men, were not only promised pardon, but rewards. With respect to religi-

on, they were to be secured in the free exercise of it, in the manner determined by the parliament of Ireland. In consequence of these proclamations, many of the Irish, among whom was a number of the torries or rapparees, submitted and claimed the protection of government. But Saint Ruth, strongly attached to the cause in which he had engaged, and anxious to recover the honor he lost, by his late disgraceful conduct at Athlone, determined to persevere. Apprehensive lest his soldiers, after the example of so many of their countrymen, should take the advantage of the King's proclamation and desert his standard, he changed the mode of operations he had hitherto adopted, and instead of acting on the defensive, resolved to suspend all his hopes on one decisive battle. In consequence of this determination, with twenty five thousand men, he took post on very advantageous grounds within a mile of Aughrim, the height on which he encamped was of considerable extent. It was protected in front by a large bog. In this there were two passages; one to the right, the other to the left. Upon the rear of that to the left lay a small corn field, and behind it, towards the camp, broken grounds difficult of access. Here he resolved to wait for the English army. He was not kept long in suspense. Ginkle, at the head of eighteen thousand men, marched towards Aughrim, and reached the enemy, on the evening of the twelfth of July sixteen hundred and ninety one.

UPON their approach, Saint Ruth, and the priests in his army went from rank to rank, and used every argument to persuade the soldiers to acquit themselves with valour, on an occasion so deeply interesting, as to determine finally, all their hopes and future prospects.

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THE English army now advanced to the attack. Their first effort was to gain, with their right wing, the opposite pass, which they accomplished. The pass on the left, was gained with equal success by the other wing. After the battle in this quarter had continued upwards of an hour, Saint Ruth perceived that his right wing required support; to strengthen it, he detached almost the whole of his cavalry from the left. On discovering this movement, General Mackay ordered several regiments of foot from the centre, to press through the bog to the corn field, and take a position there, favourable for intercepting the enemy's horse, whilst he brought up another body of troops to attack them in rear. In spite of the depth of the bog, and the opposition of the Irish, this detachment made good their ground on the other side; but pressing forwards upon their antagonists with too much impetuosity, they were carried beyond the limits assigned them, on which the Irish attacked them from all quarters, broke their ranks and forced them to retire. Some of their friends, perceiving their dangerous situation, came up to their assistance. Thus encouraged, they recovered from their disorder, rallied and advanced to the charge. The troops on the right, led by Mackay, Talmash and Rouvigny, exhibited efforts of valour which the enemy were unable to withstand. On the left, the engagement was supported, on both sides, with great intrepidity. At length, the wings of the English army gained ground, and seemed approaching nearer, to give each other mutual support. This caught the attention of Saint Ruth, who immediately from the heights, advanced against them with a strong force; but, as he was descending, he was killed by a cannon ball. This event determined the fate of the day. The news
flew

flew instantly from rank to rank, and filled the Irish with consternation. Saint Ruth having had a difference with Sarsfield, on whom the command now devolved, did not communicate to him the order of battle; Therefore how to act in the present emergency, he was quite at a loss.

THE English taking advantage of these circumstances, exerted themselves with redoubled ardour. The enemy gave way and fled. Seven thousand of them were slain, and only four hundred taken prisoners. Many more of them would have been taken, and fewer slain, if in the pursuit, the conquerors had paid more regard to the laws of humanity. The Irish lost also eleven standards, thirty two colours, their tents, baggage and artillery.

AFTER this decisive victory, nothing remained to be done by the English army, but to reduce Galway and Limerick. The former of these was immediately invested. In a few days, Ginkle made himself master of a fort, which the Irish had fortified with care, as they placed upon it their principal dependence. Dispirited by this misfortune, and having no confidence in a weak garrison, intimidated by the discouraging impressions made upon their minds, by the unhappy fate of their friends in the battle of Aughrim, Lord Dillon the governor, immediately surrendered. He obtained from the English general very favourable terms. The garrison was permitted to retire to Limerick, and the inhabitants were not only pardoned, but permitted to enjoy their former estates and privileges.

Adieu.

LET

LETTER LVII.

TO Limerick Ginkle now directed his victorious troops. Different opinions, with respect to the measures proper to be pursued on the present occasion, prevailed in the town. The Irish had been much displeased with James, for calling in to his assistance the French troops. Their interference they thought was disgraceful to them. This feeling was heightened, by the reflexions which he had cast upon their conduct at the battle of the Boyne, and by the contemptuous manner in which they had been treated by their allies. The disgraceful retreat of James from Ireland, and the indifference which he afterwards discovered for his interest in this country, were circumstances with which they were also much dissatisfied. However, amidst every discouragement, they had continued to support the cause in which they had engaged. But the reduction of Athlone, the defeat at Aughrim, and the loss of Galway, convinced them that their affairs were desperate, and that it was their interest to submit to a government, whose power they could no longer resist. But Sarsfield, and those of his countrymen within the town, daily expecting assistance from France, were averse to every idea of submission. Their counsels prevailed.

THE situation of Limerick was similar to that of Athlone. A bridge over the Shannon united the two divisions of which it consisted, one called Irish; the other English town. The latter stood on an island, which communicated with the county of Clare, on which the town depended for subsistence. Ginkle, on his approaches to the place, took care to possess and fortify all the passes in his rear, a precaution

caution for keeping off the enemy from that quarter, and securing his retreat, which he had neglected on his advances to Athlone. There was a small squadron of English ships on the coasts. These he ordered to block up the Shannon.

KING William at the head of a numerous army, had made an attempt upon Limerick, and been repulsed with considerable loss. This excited the apprehensions of Ginkle, and made him particularly attentive to every circumstance necessary to ensure success. On the twenty fifth of August, the operations of the siege were begun. Irishtown, which lay on this side of the river, and the adjoining forts, were soon in possession of the English. The principal difficulties yet remained. It was necessary to make a lodgement beyond the Shannon, to cut off the other town from a connexion with the county of Clare, without which it could not be compleatly invested. To conceal his design, Ginkle dismounted some of his batteries, and set part of his
1691. army in motion, as if he designed immediately to retreat. The enemy fell into the snare. From a confidence of being now secure from danger, their usual circumspection was remitted.

THE end which he had in view being thus accomplished, Ginkle, in the darkness of night, turned suddenly up the river, and about a mile above the town, with the assistance of a bridge of boats, passed over to an island, and from thence to the opposite side, where with little opposition, the intended lodgement was effected. Though this was a great point gained, the General soon perceived, that he could not succeed, until Thomond bridge, by which the two parts of the town were united, was in his possession. To accomplish this, a large body of horse and foot, led on by himself, by the Prince of Wirtemberg,

temberg, and Scravenmore, attacked and carried the works by which it was protected. The officer who commanded the works was a Frenchman. Being forced with part of his men into the town, to prevent the English who pursued from entering with him, he ordered the draw bridge to be lifted. A thousand of his men were still on this side, left exposed to the sword of the enemy, or to perish in the river. This conduct encreased the difference which had subsisted, betwixt the Irish and the French in the town. Besides, a post was established by the English, that commanded the bridge, a circumstance very much to the disadvantage of the besieged. They determined to surrender. A truce of three days was agreed upon, to settle the terms of capitulation. The conditions desired by the Irish being rejected, they were obliged to comply with those proposed by the English general, the principal of which were : That the garrison should be permitted to leave the town, with all the honours of war. That those of the French and Irish who chose, should have liberty to retire with their effects from the kingdom to any other country, England and Scotland excepted, ships to be provided them for that purpose. That the prisoners of war should be mutually exchanged. That the Roman Catholics of Ireland should exercise their religion, with such privileges as were permitted by law, or they enjoyed in the reign of Charles the Second. That their Majesties, when their affairs would permit, should convene a parliament, from which they would endeavour to procure them such farther security, as in this respect would exempt them from disturbance. That all the Irish in this country, engaged in the service of James, who returned to their allegiance, should be pardoned, exempted from

from actions of debt, arising from any thing done by them during the course of the war; reinstated in their property, real and personal, and in all their rights, titles, immunities and privileges, which they formerly enjoyed, provided that when required, they took the oath of allegiance, enjoined by the English act of parliament, enacted in the first year of the present reign. That every nobleman and gentleman of the Roman Catholic persuasion, included in the capitulation, should have liberty to ride with a sword, or case of pistols, and to keep a gun for the defence of their houses, or the entertainment of hunting. On the third of October, these articles were signed by the Lords Justices, by Ginkle, the Generals Scravenmore, Mackay and Talmash, and afterwards ratified by their Majesties.

THE Irish war being very unfavourable to that, in which his Majesty was engaged with France, he had sent instructions to the Lords Justices, to issue a declaration, assuring the Irish of much more favourable conditions than the above. The Justices framed a proclamation accordingly, but on being informed that Limerick was reduced, they suppressed it.

THE defeat of the Boyne had determined Lewis, to give James no farther assistance in this country. In which resolution he continued, during the greatest part of the last, and of the present campaign, but when he found that Limerick was about to be attacked, on the fate of which depended, entirely, the event of the war, he sent to it's assistance eighteen ships of the line, with three thousand stand of arms, stores and provisions. They arrived on the coast a few days after the capitulation was concluded. Repentance on the part of the Irish, for having been so precipitate, was the only effect produced by the appearance of this intended aid. Ginkle

kle was rewarded with the titles of Lord Aughrim, and Earl of Galway; Rouvigny with that of Lord Galway. It was observed with much dissatisfaction, that the Generals Mackay and Talmash were neglected, whose services in the course of the war had likewise been honourably distinguished.

FOURTEEN thousand Irish took advantage of the permission granted them, by the articles of Limerick, and bid adieu for ever to their native country.

THUS, after a series of bloodshed, and the many aggravated calamities ever attendant upon civil war, tranquillity was at last restored to this distracted country.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LVIII.

ALL the powers and feelings of the mind are closely connected, and have upon each other a mutual influence. Despotism has availed itself of the bigotry in religion, which to their great discredit, has distinguished too many Protestants of every denomination. But a dependence upon one spiritual head, who supported in his pretensions by a claim of infallibility, prescribes points of faith, which must be implicitly adopted, admits of no diversity in religious opinions, claims an absolute power over the privileges of conscience, has still more, a natural tendency to weaken the principles of civil liberty. But notwithstanding this influence, Roman Catholics, by a generous attachment to their privileges, have erected very honourable monuments to their praise. In these countries, their exertions in this glorious cause can never be forgotten. Were they not Roman Catholics who contended so nobly, in support of the free principles of the saxon constitution, who
opposed

with which they had been too often treated by Protestants.

Farewell.

LETTER LIX.

WITH respect to the propriety of the terms granted to the Irish, on the taking of Limerick, there were various opinions. The Protestants complained, that whilst they deeply suffered by their attachment to the cause of King William, the enemies of his government had not only escaped with impunity, but been permitted to leave the kingdom with their property. Objections were made by others, which proceeded, not from selfish considerations, but from those which respected the public. Say they, "The connexion of so many exiles with their friends and relations in Ireland, will keep up a constant communication betwixt it, and a country hostile to it's interest. In the place of their banishment, they will cherish a sense of the injuries of which they complain, and be disposed to embrace any opportunity of returning to this kingdom, to gratify their resentment, and to recover their lost privileges."

BUT men of more just sentiments observed, that the distractions of Ireland had prevented the lands from being cultivated; that the cattle had been destroyed, and, on account of the risques at sea, provisions had not been imported from foreign countries. That therefore, had the Irish troops been prohibited to remove from the kingdom, they would either have perished for want, or ruined the country by their depredations. Besides, that had not such terms as they would accept been granted to them, Limerick would have been relieved, and this country

try longer harrassed by the calamities of war. The justness of the latter part of this reasoning was obvious, and that the former was equally well founded, William gave, shortly after, a convincing proof. From not being able to furnish them with provisions, he was obliged to permit several thousands of his Irish troops, to enter into the service of the Emperor, and to transport the greatest part of those which remained to England.

BUT it was not a mere regard to his present situation, nor to the immediate disadvantages which might arise from his acting a different part, which induced William to ratify the articles of Limerick. In this transaction, his motives and his views were liberal. The English act of toleration which passed the first year of his reign, and which afterwards was extended to this country, by receiving the sanction of our parliament, was a convincing proof of his being a friend to the privileges of conscience. He was equally a friend to the civil rights of mankind. From experience he knew, that the Roman Catholics of Holland were good subjects. If they were not so formerly in this country, he was sensible that it proceeded from their being weighed heavily down, by the hand of oppression. He resolved to give them favourable impressions of him, and to gain their confidence by kind usage, by making favourable allowances for the prejudices which had attached them to James, and by treating them with justice and humanity.

Soon after William was placed upon the throne, a plot, as has been mentioned, was formed in favour of James by the enemies of the revolution. This though detected, was succeeded by another, in which both the enemies and the friends of the revolution were concerned. As you have also seen, it was likewise discovered, and several of the per-

sons concerned imprisoned, but that the French fleet, in an engagement with the English, brought on by an effort in favour of the plot, had been victorious. This success, the disaffection of the principal whigs, whose hostile designs against government still continued, and were heightened by the intrigues of the French court; the certainty that the tories would, from principle, rejoice in an opportunity of overturning government; the bitter discontents of the Highlanders of Scotland, aggravated by the unfortunate massacre of Glenco, with a consciousness of the weakness, of having permitted Ireland to be entirely conquered by his enemy, and competitor for glory, determined Lewis to make one great effort to restore James to the throne. With this view, he prepared the strongest naval force he could possibly equip, for the invasion of England. England roused by a sense of this alarming danger, made every possible exertion to guard against it.

On the nineteenth of May sixteen hundred and ninety two, two mighty armaments of these contending powers covered the sea. The English fleet, which had been joined by the Dutch, was commanded by Lord Russel, and consisted of ninety nine ships of the line. The strength of Tourville the French admiral, was inferior. The number of his ships amounted to but fifty. Notwithstanding this inequality, stimulated by reflexions cast upon him, as having neglected his duty, in not destroying the British ships which he had driven into their harbours, after the fight at Beachy Head, and depending upon the disaffection of a number of the English officers, Lord Russel in particular, he advanced to engage. Several of the British officers were secretly in the interest of James, but they did not act so inglorious a part as to desert their duty, and
betray

betray their country in the present emergence. The battle continued with various success. At last, the French fled, pressed by the English fleet. Night ended the pursuit. It was renewed with the return of the following day, the whole of which was spent in driving the French ships, now reduced to thirty four, along their own shore. Multitudes of the inhabitants with deep anxiety and disappointment, were witnesses of the disgraceful fight.

THE third day, six of the enemy's ships took refuge near Cherburg, and eighteen more near La Hogue, almost the whole of which, the three following days, were entirely destroyed. With the defeat of La Hogue, all the hopes of James to be re-established on the British throne, were cut off for ever. This unfortunate prince, chagrined with disappointment, and sick of the pursuit of worldly greatness, retired to the convent of La Trappe. A striking example of the mortifying effects of bigotry and lawless ambition.

Adieu.

L E T T E R LX.

THE free toleration granted to Protestant dissenters, the encouragement given to Roman Catholics, and the active attention of 1692. the Lords Justices to their duty, operated most powerfully in behalf of this country. A spirit of industry revived, the land was cultivated, useful arts were introduced, and a fine country, lately robbed of its beauty and prosperity, began gradually to assume its former agreeable appearance.

LORD Sydney was now created Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where he arrived the twenty fifth of August. He immediately issued writs, and convened

the parliament. The meeting of this assembly, which had been interrupted for twenty six years, was a most pleasing sight to the friends of liberty and the constitution.

WHEN the supplies came to be considered, government asked a large sum, on account of the debts which had been contracted during the course of the war. The commons pleaded, that the people, impoverished by the late calamities, were unable to pay it, but at the same time, acknowledged the obligations they were under to his Majesty, for the large expence of blood and treasure he had been at, in defence of the kingdom. They granted a sum not exceeding seventy thousand pounds.

AN affair now arose, which quite interrupted the good agreement which had hitherto subsisted, between government and the house of commons. The latter considered it to be their indisputable right to determine, in the first instance, with respect to the sum, and the manner of raising every supply granted to the crown. In violation of this privilege, two money bills, which had not originated with them, were transmitted from England, and laid before the house. They were much offended at this encroachment upon their privileges, which they determined to support. They would have rejected both, but this would have pressed too hard upon the exigencies of government, which were so pressing as not to admit of delay; one of the bills therefore, the least exceptionable, was passed, with a saving in favour of their rights, expressed in the following resolutions: "Resolved, that it was, and is the undoubted right of the house of commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, to prepare and resolve the ways and means of raising money. That it was and is the sole and undoubted right of the commons,

commons, to prepare heads of bills for raising money. That notwithstanding the aforesaid rights of the commons, this house doth think fit, upon consideration of the present exigencies of affairs, and the public necessity of speedily raising a supply for their Majesties, to order a bill transmitted out of England, entitled an act for an additional duty of excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors, to be now read. That the receiving or reading of the said bill, so transmitted as aforesaid, be not drawn into precedent hereafter." To the other bill they gave a negative, declaring, that their reason for rejecting it was, "because it had not taken it's rise in the commons."

In place of the rejected bill, they substituted another, which would have been more productive. The establishment of a regular militia was the next object of their attention, a measure which they considered as absolutely necessary, to preserve the peace of the kingdom.

No statute had hitherto been enacted in Ireland, for the punishment of mutiny and desertion; in this respect, we depended entirely on the authority of a British act of parliament. At this time, a bill for that purpose, recommended by the Lord Lieutenant, was brought into the house, but being much less perfect than the English act, was thrown out, and a committee appointed to prepare another, exactly corresponding with it.

THE commons, by rejecting the bill of supply, had given great offence to government, who determined that they should not escape with impunity. After they had done some other business, Sydney summoned them to attend him in the house of Lords, when, the money bill and three others being passed, they were suddenly prorogued, and accused

by his Excellency of having, in contradiction to the design of their meeting, undutifully and ungratefully invaded their Majesties prerogative. Conscious of being animated by the principles of loyalty, and that what they had done was indispensibly necessary to support their own dignity, and the rights of their constituents, the charge sounded harshly in their ears. The interest of the public was likely to suffer by this dispute; those who were their enemies would rejoice at it; therefore they requested the Lord Lieutenant, for permission to send commissioners to England, to place the matter before their Majesties in a just point of view. "Yes," replied the despot, "you shall have leave to go for England, to beg their Majesties pardon, for your seditious and riotous assemblies; I will give you no other answer." He entered his protest against their proceeding, and continued his resentment. But for the justification of his conduct, he thought it necessary to have the sanction of the judges, who on being consulted, insensible to the interest, and the rights of their country, and to the disgrace of their profession, gave it as their opinion, that the conduct of parliament, with respect to the money bill, was a breach of Poynings' Law, both as it originally stood, and as explained and amended by the act of Philip and Mary. By this statute, bills could not originate with parliament, until the third and fourth of Philip and Mary; after that law was enacted, they most undoubtedly might, and from the time of James the First, did originate there. Then bills after the meeting of parliament, were authorized to be certified to England by the Lord Lieutenant and council. The law, with regard to such bills, was absolute, merely with respect to the circumstance of their transmission, and the persons by whom they were

were to be certified. It determined nothing in relation to the authority, or the persons with whom they were to originate. They might originate with the council, or they might originate with parliament. Of this circumstance, parliament took advantage, in order to regain a part of their lost privileges. Particularly the commons asserted in their journals, that it was their privilege, and by the practice of many years, established as their exclusive right, a power of originating money bills, of which they were the only competent judges, with which the interest of their constituents was more intimately connected, and which they could not give up, without relinquishing a most important branch of their office.

THE prorogation of the parliament created much discontent. Bills of importance, which had been prepared, remained imperfect, and grievances complained of unredressed.

AT a subsequent meeting of parliament, a bill, upon the principle of the English bill of rights, was introduced into the house of lords. It proposed to enact, that the pretended power of suspending, or executing laws by royal authority is illegal, without consent of parliament. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or of executing laws, by regal authority, as assumed and exercised in the late reign, is illegal. That it is the right of the subject to petition the King, and that all prosecutions and commitments for the same, are illegal. That the levying money, for the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without consent of parliament, for longer time than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal. That Protestants, suitable to their condition, may have arms for their defence, as permitted by law. That the election of members of
parliament

parliament ought to be free. That the freedom of speech in parliament, can only be impeached or questioned in parliament. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unnatural punishments inflicted. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled, and returned, and that jurors in trials for high treason, should be freeholders. That all grants and promises of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal. The bill being sent to the commons, they added to it the following amendment. That for redress of all grievances in this kingdom, and for improving, strengthening, and preserving the laws, parliaments ought not to be dissolved, as they have been in the late reigns. That the free quartering of soldiers on any subject of this kingdom, in time of peace, is arbitrary and illegal.

THE bill was transmitted, but, to the very great discredit of government, not returned. As the parliament continued to act on principles offensive to the court, it was prorogued a second time, and then dissolved.

1695. SYDNEY having become an object of popular odium, was recalled, and the government vested in three justices, Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyehe, and Mr. Duncomb. Difference in principle dissuaded the measures of their government. Influenced by a strong desire of recommending himself, to the favourable opinion of the English settlers, Lord Capel attached himself to their interest, which he laboured to promote, even at the expence of equity. Sir Cyril and Mr. Duncomb interested themselves in behalf of the Irish. They protected them from oppression. Those who from selfish views, attempted to infringe the articles of Limerick and of Galway, they restrained by their authority.

city. Neither a desire of court influence, nor a regard to the applause of the powerful, were the principles of their conduct; they only wished to be distinguished by a wise and just administration. Too seldom does government approve and encourage in it's servants, such integrity of heart. These excellent justices were removed, and Lord Capel created deputy. Several changes having been made in the administration, he convened a meeting of parliament. In the beginning of the session, the business was undisturbed by any dispute. The supply which had been desired was granted, the proceedings in King James's parliament were reversed; though, in violation of their legislative privileges, a law to the same purpose, had been passed in England. The act of settlement was explained and confirmed. But this good agreement was speedily interrupted. Sir Charles Porter the chancellor, had exerted himself, in support of the articles of Limerick and Galway, upon which the Protestants, as prejudicial to their interest, looked with a jealous eye. Lord Capel still continued to court the favor of the English settlers, without being scrupulous with respect to the means of obtaining it. With the assistance of his friends, he raised an opposition to the Chancellor. A charge was fabricated, by which he was accused of designs hostile to government. In support of it a motion was made in the house of commons, but on being heard in his own justification, he was very honourably acquitted.

THE articles of Limerick had occasioned many disputes; a law passed in this parliament, entitled an act for the confirmation of them, but it was inadequate, partial and unjust. Instead of establishing, it in several instances, materially weakened the security of the Irish. Nine of the articles were fully confirmed,

confirmed, and as far as they were confirmed, the situation of the persons concerned, was altered to their prejudice. A clause in one of them, upon which the safety and the property of numbers depended, was entirely omitted.

In the first year of the present reign, a law passed in England, by which, in place of the act of supremacy and abjuration, it was enacted, that every person should promise and declare, upon oath, that he would bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary; that he abhorred, detested, and abjured, the impious and heretical position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, might be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any persons whatever; and that he should farther declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, supremacy, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within the realm. It was now resolved by the Irish lords, that no Roman Catholic peer, not qualified by taking the above oath, and no Papist under age, should be entitled to the privileges of parliament.

In this country affairs continued pretty much in the same situation. Lord Capel the deputy, died on the thirtieth of May, sixteen hundred and ninety nine, and was succeeded by Sir Charles Porter. The parliament met the twenty seventh of June, but did no material business. Upon the removal of Sir Charles from the government, it was placed in the hands of three justices, the Marquis of Winchester, and the Earls of Galway and Jersey. They continued in office until the twenty eighth of December, seventeen hundred, when Laurence Hyde Earl of Rochester, was appointed lord lieutenant.

FIFTEEN hundred Protestant inhabitants, of the vallies on this side of the river Elufon, some time before, had been banished from France, on account of their religion. They retreated to Switzerland, to the Protestant cantons, where they were kindly received, and for a while, provided with a supply for their necessities. From Switzerland they removed to Germany. Here some princes of the same religious persuasion, assigned them waste lands to inhabit. But they were poor, and could not cultivate them, so as to be provided with the means of support. To obtain assistance, they made application to King William; he cast them upon the benevolence of the Protestant clergy of Ireland, who entered into their situation, and made charitable contributions for their relief. This Christian and charitable act deserves to be recorded to their honour.

Farewell.

LETTER LXI.

THE revolution was a glorious event to Irishmen, not because it put them into immediate possession of their rights, but because it enabled them to regain them at a future period. Had James continued to reign, the constitution of both countries would have perished for ever. The interposition of William preserved that of England, the safety of which involved in it the means of our recovery.

MOST honourable have been the exertions of Britons in favour of liberty; these, in the history of mankind, shine with a brilliant lustre. But, like all the other nations of the earth, they have wished to confine this invaluable blessing to themselves; to the privileges of those connected with them, they have
been

been shamefully indifferent. Of this, as you have perceived, their treatment of Ireland has afforded many instances. But none of them is more flagrant than their conduct towards this country, from sixteen hundred and ninety one, to the period which ends with the conclusion of my last letter.

THE contest betwixt King William and his competitor, left all our civil and political departments in a state of confusion. In this emergence, until the parliament could be convened, and the springs of government put in regular motion, it was right that his Majesty, as our supreme executive power, should exert his authority for the restoration of civil order, even though it should pass the limits of the constitution. But the English parliament, with whom, in a legislative capacity, we have nothing to do, more than with the parliament of any other nation under heaven, thought proper to exert this power. By an English act, our courts of justice were opened. By an English act, the charges of our civil and military departments were ascertained and settled. Our parliament met in sixteen hundred and ninety two; notwithstanding, that of England continued it's encroachments. They assumed a power of exempting the Irish Protestant clergy, from the penalties to which they were subject by the laws of this country, for holding benefices in both kingdoms. They assumed a power of annulling the laws enacted here, by King James's parliament, particularly with respect to those estates of the Irish Protestants, which by them had been forfeited. They prohibited Ireland all commerce with France. They abrogated the oath of supremacy here, in place of which, they substituted that already mentioned. They passed an act for granting to their Majesties an aid, with a proviso, that it should
not

not extend to the inhabitants of Scotland, Ireland, Jersey, or Guernsey. It is plain, that without this proviso, they would have considered the law, as extending in it's operation to this country. They must have supposed their power over us, to have been absolute indeed, when they might tax us, take the money out of our pockets at pleasure without our consent.

IN the reign of Charles the First, the London society had been deprived of their grant of Derry, Coleraine, and the adjacent districts, and fined seventy thousand pounds, for a breach of the conditions on which they obtained it. This judgment was afterwards reversed and their grant secured to them, by the acts of settlement and explanation. An Irish act of parliament saved the rights of the clergy, in consequence of which, the Bishop of Derry claimed possession of the lands belonging to his see. The society having disputed his title, and the cause being determined against them by the Irish peers, they appealed to the English house of lords, who, in violation of the privileges of our peers, and in perversion of justice, took them under their protection. The bishop was removed, and a composition made by his successor with the society, which ended the dispute.

IN England, the Woollen manufacture had become a staple commodity. With us likewise it was a profitable branch of commerce. Before the time of Charles the First, we indraped our wool, and exported what we did not consume to foreign markets. Of this privilege the English, jealous of a competition, deprived us by several acts of parliament, more especially one enacted in the reign of Charles the Second, which was deeply marked with the most unjust severity. But all this was not sufficient.

cient. In the tenth year of the present reign, the British parliament appointed a committee to enquire into the matter, who reported, that as both wool and labour were cheaper in Ireland, than with them, we were enabled to undersell them in foreign markets; that this branch of business was encreasing with us, and that they neither could nor would suffer the woollen manufacture of this country, to rise into a competition with theirs. In consequence, they passed a law, by which we were forbidden to export wool and all woollen manufactures, upon pain of confiscation and imprisonment: Another act added transportation. By the former of these statutes, no acquittal in Ireland of any offence against it would be allowed, in bar or delay of any indictment or prosecution, within the kingdom of England.

THUS a person, for using his liberty as a free-man, in exporting any of these prohibited articles, might be tried in this country, and acquitted. But this was not sufficient. He must be dragged to a foreign land, a stranger, where he could not have his peers, where perhaps he could not have his witnesses, friendless, there to undergo a second trial.

ENGLAND, in extorting obedience from us, has claimed the authority of a parent. She is but our sister. Much more sincerely would we have loved her, had she not too often looked cold upon our interest, and permitted selfish considerations to extinguish, towards us, the sweet and endearing sensibilities of natural affections.

BUT there is no part of her conduct, during the present period, of which we have so much reason to complain, as of her unjustifiable interference with respect to the Irish forfeitures.

ON

ON former occasions, and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, many of William's friends and officers had served him and their country, with distinguished fidelity. The supplies had been granted with so much parsimony, that he had no other means of rewarding their services, but by giving them a part of the Irish forfeited estates. This he designed. The commons of England opposed the measure, as they thought this would be to apply to the use of individuals, what belonged to the public, and which might, with much more propriety, be disposed of in discharging the arrears of the army, and in paying part of the public debt. It was proposed by them, and attempted, to secure the application of the fund to these purposes, by act of parliament. To allay the heats which were likely to arise, in respect to this business, the King declared that he would make no grant of the forfeited lands in Ireland, until the parliament should have another opportunity of settling the affair, in the manner most expedient. But one opportunity passed after another, without any thing being done in the matter. Upon which, the King made grants of the confiscated estates, in this country, to seventy six persons, who appeared to him best entitled to reward. The commons were very much offended, charged his Majesty, though very unjustly, with breach of promise, and determined to use every means to set aside the grants, and make him feel the effects of their displeasure. By act of parliament, a commission was given to seven persons, to enquire into the value of the confiscated estates which had been disposed of, and into the reasons upon which they had been alienated from the public. Three of the commissioners were disposed to act upon the principles of moderation, in their enquiries; the other four were partial and arbitrary.

bitrary. The scrutinies which they made into the value and the reasons of the several grants, seemed rather to flow from resentment to the King, than from the love of justice, and a desire to serve the interests of their country. On their return, their service was magnified by the commons, and the accounts which they gave received with implicit confidence, whilst the other commissioners were charged with having been gained over by court influence, and every thing which they said was discredited.

"THE King," said the commons, "has been too liberal in the distribution of his favours. The grantees have received an unreasonable recompense of their services. Were the forfeited estates to be disposed of, for the use of the public, the sale would amount to a million and a half." In consequence, a bill of resumption was introduced into the lower house, previous to which, in violation of the privileges of freemen confirmed by Magna Charta, and of common justice, they passed a vote, that no petitions should be received in opposition to it.

WHEN this measure, and the extent of it was known, it excited universal alarm. Thousands of families were likely to be ruined. Not only the grantees, whose meritorious services had a demand upon the public, both in point of justice and gratitude, were to be deprived of their reward, but settlements established several years before the commencement of the war, marriage settlements, bargains, where there was no cause of forfeiture, and other acts, depending upon the grants, were to be made void. To these considerations, the English commons paid no regard. Having passed the bill, it was sent up to the lords, among whom it created a warm debate. Influenced by the same opinion which had induced them, from the beginning, to oppose this attempt,

tempt in all it's stages, they made alterations in the bill. As to prevent this, it had been consolidated with a money bill, the commons were highly displeased at this infringement of their prerogative. Conferences took place, betwixt the lords and commons, which instead of allaying, heightened their mutual animosities. After these heats had continued some time, the bill passed both houses, and the King, with the utmost dissatisfaction, gave it his assent.

THAT some justice might be done to the persons affected by it, the act of resumption was not absolute. A number of trustees were named in it, in whom were vested all the confiscated estates. In determining all claims, and disposing of the lands to purchasers, they were vested with uncontrollable authority. The trustees passed over to Ireland. After spending some time in the business, in one of their reports they declare, that they had not as yet, thought fit to leave any thing to the determination of the people of this country. Irishmen were much obliged to them for this favourable opinion of their honesty.

A NUMBER of claims were determined by them, in favor of Roman Catholics; notwithstanding they violated in many instances, the articles of Limerick and of Galway. Their appointment was very offensive to the nation, and their conduct equally obnoxious. They were charged with injustice, venality, and corruption. Instead of a million and a half, at which the forfeited estates had been rated by the commissioners, it was now found, that they were not likely to amount to more than a third part of that value. Though prohibited by the commons of England, petitions multiplied from the several coun-

ties, against the act and against the trustees. They were voted false and scandalous.

Those who from attachment to the rights of the King, opposed the act of resumption; pleaded, "that it was his Majesty's inherent prerogative, supported by the common law of England; that forfeited estates belonged to the crown." They pleaded, "that by the feudal constitutions, the King distributed his lands among his vassals, as an equivalent for service, which when they withheld their service, or withdrew their allegiance, returned to him as the original proprietor. This right of the crown," they farther asserted, "was confirmed by custom, by the decision of the judges, and by the lords of parliament." But whether the right of disposing of the forfeited estates in this country, did or did not belong to the King, by what law of reason or of equity was it vested in the British legislature? If it was just, for the English parliament to exercise dominion over a part, upon the same principle, they had a property in the whole. Then Ireland was theirs, destitute of all the privileges of an independent kingdom. Then Irishmen were slaves, without honor, without laws, and constitution, as much strangers to liberty, as the wretched inhabitants of Turkey or of Indostan. The life of a robber, who invades the property of the most inconsiderable individual, is forfeited by the laws of society; and if a nation violates the rights of another, will the voice of justice be unheard, and the impartial world not reprobate such exertions of usurped power, in pointed terms of condemnation? If William acted improperly, in respect to the Irish forfeitures, to interpose, was the business, not of the English, but the Irish legislature. How disgusting must it have been to the people of Ireland, and to their parliament, to see foreigners intermeddle

termiddle in an affair, which if interference was proper, lay entirely within the limits of their own jurisdiction? To see the British parliament, under the sanction of their pretended authority, send over their commissioners, and their trustees, to dispose of the property of the nation, and exercising their power with assumed state, and every mark of insolent contempt?

PREVIOUS to what has now been said, in respect to the unconstitutional interference of the English parliament, in the concerns of this country, I had brought down the history to the year seventeen hundred, when Lord Rochester was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. It was the same year, that his Majesty passed the act for resuming the forfeited estates, in this kingdom. The violence done to his feelings on this occasion, made a deep impression on his spirits. He was the more susceptible of dissatisfaction, from the state of mind produced by the uneasiness and disappointments, to which, from the violence of party, he was perpetually exposed. A sense of his difficulties had been greatly increased, and his situation rendered much more unhappy, by the loss of his amiable Queen, who had died, in sixteen hundred and ninety four.

ON the twenty ninth of the following June, died the Duke of Gloucester, the only child of seventeen, who had survived to the Princess Anne. In this event, the tories and jacobites, as it left the succession to the crown undetermined, and flattered their hopes, with respect to the young Chevalier, rejoiced; to all concerned for the cause of liberty and the Protestant religion, it gave sensible pain. By the steady and vigorous exertions of the latter, provision was made against this danger, so threatening to the public welfare.

AN act of parliament passed, which settled the crown upon the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, grand-daughter of James the First, and her heirs. This, with the act of abjuration which followed, secured the Protestant succession.

FOR some time past, the King's health and constitution gradually declined; he could not have long survived, but an accident hastened his dissolution. He exercised much on horseback, with a view to remove his complaints. In one of his excursions his horse fell under him, by which his collar bone was fractured. This proved fatal. He died in the fifty second year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign.

WILLIAM was raised up by the providence of God, to be a signal blessing to these nations. His interposition at a most critical period, rescued Britain from slavery, and enabled Ireland to regain her liberty. There were faults in his administration; considering how often he was compelled to measures displeasing to him, by an influence which he was unable to counteract, it is perhaps difficult to say; how far he was chargeable with them. With respect to religion, his being a friend and a patron of universal toleration, was a shining virtue in his character, and the glory of his reign. As to civil liberty, the laws and the constitution were the rule of his government. He deposed a tyrant, not like Oliver Cromwell for the gratification of his own ambition, but to be the sovereign of a free people. Had he been better treated by his English subjects, he would have appeared to them much more amiable. In Holland, where unruffled by disappointment and unreasonable opposition, he appeared in his real character, he was highly beloved. No prince ever sat
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upon the throne, more distinguished by true elevation, and greatness of mind.

Farewell.

LETTER LXII.

YOU will permit me to interrupt the narration, to give you a summary account of a noble effort, in favour of Irish liberty, which appeared towards the conclusion of the late reign. Of those who had a strong sense of the injuries done to our civil rights, by the parliament of England, was Mr. William Molyneux, one of the representatives of the university of Dublin. This gentleman, distinguished by his abilities, by his knowledge, and still more by his patriotism, had discovered a laudable desire to promote the improvement of our manufactures. But he perceived, that neither our manufactures, our commerce, or any exertion on which national prosperity depends, could succeed, so long as our natural and constitutional rights, were oppressed by the unjust interference of the British legislature. To the flagrant instances of this which had happened, from the year sixteen hundred and ninety one, he was himself a witness. Determined to vindicate the cause of his country, he turned his thoughts particularly to this subject; and in the year sixteen hundred and ninety eight, published a book, entitled, "The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated." The good sense, the public spirit, and knowledge of the constitution, by which this performance was distinguished, did great credit to the author.

In treating the subject he proposed, First, to consider how Ireland came to be annexed to the English crown. Secondly, whether the settlement, on

which this connexion was founded, was established by conquest. Thirdly, what title or what authority over the conquered is derived from conquest. Fourthly, what concessions, at different periods have been made to Ireland. Fifthly, the precedents and opinions of the learned in the law relative to this matter. And, Sixthly, some additional arguments to be offered on the subject.

THE first of these particulars he explained, by pointing out the application of Dermot to Henry the Second for assistance, and the events which happened until the arrival of that king in Ireland, and the submission of the natives to his authority. With respect to conquest he shewed, that the submission of the natives to Henry was voluntary, and therefore, that the English parliament could claim no jurisdiction under that idea, over the people of this country. By a judicious application of the principles of his friend, the excellent Mr. Lock, he evinced, that were the settlement of the English here even to be considered as a just conquest, it could only affect those who opposed their power, but gave them no right over those by whom they were not opposed, or over the liberty and estates of posterity. As to the adventurers from Britain, who assisted Henry in his invasion of the island, and who took up their residence here, from whom the great body of the people are at present descended, he observed, that they still retained the privileges of free born subjects, which could not possibly be the case, if they were to be governed by the authority of the English legislature. Mr. Molyneaux next proceeded to take notice of the concessions, which at different periods have been made to Ireland. Here he mentioned the grant of English law, made by Henry to the Irish at Lismore, and the modus which
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he transmitted to them, for holding parliaments, as a distinct and independent nation. Under this branch of the subject he observes, that Ireland was granted to John by his father, as a kingdom totally distinct from, and unconnected with the crown of England. In this he was mistaken, but without any prejudice to his argument, as the constitutional rights of Irishmen are perfectly the same, whether their supreme executive power be confined entirely to themselves, or have also under it's dominion the empire of Britain.

THE grant of English law made to this country by King John, upon the death of his brother Richard; Magna Charta, and the subsequent ratification of our liberties, transmitted by Henry the Third, are next mentioned by him. He then proceeded to shew, that in these grants were included, the great law of parliament, the English common law, and the statute law. His subject next led him to consider, in what manner the English statute laws, enacted from the time of Henry the Third, came to be of force in Ireland; and here he quoted a variety of particulars, in order to shew that many of them were made current in this kingdom, by the sanction of our legislature. With respect to others, which extended to us without having been recognized by the Irish parliament, he asserted, that they were not introductory of a new law, but explanatory of the ancient common law, whose authority we had recognised at the original establishment of our constitution, and which had been frequently confirmed. A single instance to the contrary, he positively asserted, could not be produced, from the earliest period until the year sixteen hundred and forty one. To this it has been objected, that there are English statutes, which escaped his attention, and that of

Lord

Lord Chancellor Bolton, who in the celebrated performance before mentioned, advances the same opinion. Besides the instances taken notice of in the course of this history, the twelfth of Edward the First, the eleventh, the thirty fourth, and the forty third of Edward the Third, and the first of Henry the Sixth, though not explanatory of the old common law, were, it is said, extended to and operated in Ireland, without being impressed with the authority of our legislature.

THE general position of this excellent advocate, for the rights of the Irish nation, with respect to the reception, and the authority of English laws in this kingdom, is supported by indubitable evidence. As to the above, and other similar statutes, which authors, particularly Serjeant Mayart, have mentioned, is it not reasonable to suppose, that when they were enacted, this country was represented in the English parliament? That on several occasions, our representatives sat with the British parliament, to consult upon the affairs of Ireland, we have authentick evidence. What a number of records, that might have cleared up this point, as well as others, respecting our privileges, have perished? Were it otherwise, no conclusion could hence be drawn prejudicial to our rights. Acts of injustice may interrupt the course of national freedom, but in the eye of reason, of equity, and the constitution, cannot weaken the solid foundations by which she is supported. Englishmen complain that forty times was Magna Charta violated. Did this, in their opinion, sanctify tyranny or invalidate their constitutional rights?

BUT it had been objected, that though the English acts may not bind Ireland, those who mention
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all his Majesties dominions, or which name Ireland in particular; are, and shall be of force in this kingdom. In respect to those supposed to bind Ireland by the general terms of his Majestys dominions, our author adduces a number of examples of such acts, which have been transmitted to this country, to be enacted into laws by our parliament, which would have been quite unnecessary, had they been previously of force here. He then takes notice of two statutes which name Ireland, on which arguments have been raised to our prejudice, in favour of the supremacy of the British legislature, and evidently proves, that they are ordinances of the King, not English acts of parliament. The principal force of this part of the objection, was taken from the staple act. But the opinion of even the English judges concerning it, on the memorable trial of the merchants of Waterford, appeared to determine, that it did not extend to us, in matters of internal legislation. As to matters of external legislation, Hussey the chief justice asserted, that we are bound by the British legislature, because we are the King of England's subjects; upon which Mr. Molyneaux, with great justness observes, that upon the same principle Scotland, at that time not united to England, might be bound by English laws in relation to it's foreign trade; that a claim in this respect to superiority, is inconsistent with the idea of our being a distinct kingdom; for if Ireland be a distinct kingdom, it cannot be subordinate to another. May we not ask, with respect to the supposed authority of British acts, which name Ireland, or mention all his Majesty's dominions, can words alter the nature of things? Can they give the sanction of right to that which is in itself unjust? Can they take away any part of it's authority from our parliament, which is possessed

possessed of all the powers necessary to compleat, independent, legislative jurisdiction? It is grievous to see such distinctions maintained by authorities, so highly respectable as Lord Coke, and Sir William Blackstone.

THE encroachments on our constitution, made from the year sixteen hundred and forty one to his own time, are distinctly enumerated, and placed in a just point of view by our author. Having arrived at the branch of his subject, which leads him to consider the opinions of the learned in the law in respect to it, he adduces several in confirmation of his argument. Here he examines the origin of the practice, of removing causes from this country to England by writs of error, and shews that from this no argument can be derived, in favour of the supremacy of the British legislature over Ireland or it's parliament. Remarks, tending to prove that a claim of superiority in England, over this country, cannot be deduced from purchase, or from a consideration of a competition of interests; that it is inconsistent with the natural rights of men, and with the King's prerogative; and a recapitulation of some of his principal topicks, take up the remainder of this excellent performance.

THE treatment which it met with in England, determined it's merit in a manner much more honourable, than any praise which could possibly be bestowed upon it, by the loftiest panegyrick. There, by order of government, it was burned by the hands of the public executioner. From the same principle, the works of the admirable Refnal, whose glorious efforts in the cause of liberty the most distant generations will venerate, were committed to the flames in the streets of Paris. Despots are unwilling that the mysteries of their iniquity should be unveiled.

unveiled. The only feeling excited in the breasts of freemen, by such unmanly and impotent efforts of tyranny, is contempt.

Two attempts were made to answer Mr. Molyneux's book. One of them written by Mr. Atwood, of all the performances which have been published, was perhaps the most destitute of argument. That of Mr. Cary merited some attention. But notwithstanding his endeavour to overturn them, the rights of Ireland remained on the same permanent foundation. His grand position is, that whatever privileges were granted to this country by the King, are to be considered as granted by the kingdom of England, which is vested with supreme dominion over all the parts of the empire. The principle is false; therefore all reasonings deduced from it are inconclusive.

Adieu.

L E T T E R LXIII.

WILLIAM was succeeded by Anne Princess of Denmark, daughter of James the Second. The revolution of sixteen hundred and eighty eight had ascertained, much more distinctly, the limits of royal prerogative, and the rights of the people. ^{1701.} But several important points, absolutely necessary to perfect the constitution, still remained undetermined. From Anne, in whose family the dreadful effects of despotism had appeared in a most awful point of view, who had been witness of the ardent, persevering desire of liberty, which in general possessed the English nation, and to which she had herself sacrificed the attachments of natural affection, the whigs expected considerable advantages. On the other hand, the tories, who knew the secret advances, which latterly she had made, towards a reconciliation

tion with her father, entertained great hopes, that she would gratify their wishes. Thus were all parties much pleased with her ascending the throne. Upon the whole, neither of them gained any essential point. In different parts of her reign, the general principles of her government were agreeable to both. The beginning of it was devoted to the whigs, the conclusion was under the direction of the Tories.

IN seventeen hundred and three, the Duke of Ormond was made lord lieutenant of Ireland. In his address to parliament, which met in August or September, he told them, that her Majesty only expected, that they would make provision for paying the debt of the nation, and make the revenue equal to the expences of government; that his views were the same with theirs, the promoting of her Majesty's service, and the welfare of his native country. In their address, the house expressed the most particular satisfaction, in the appointment of his Grace to be their chief governor, as they looked up to him with entire confidence, that under his administration, the kingdom would be restored to a happy settlement; but they complained of various grievances.

WITH respect to the supply, the commons voted the funds already granted, and the revenues of the kingdom, to be adequate to the public debt, and to the expence of government. The trustees appointed by the act of resumption, for managing the confiscated lands, had not yet brought that business to a conclusion. Their conduct continued to be very obnoxious to the nation. In resentment of the opposition they met with, they endeavoured to impress the British government with an opinion, that the people of this country aimed at independence. This drew from our parliament a declaration, that they

they held Ireland to be dependant on the English imperial crown. If the English imperial crown was thus pointed out by them, as the sole and exclusive object of their dependance, it followed by direct implication, that the interference of the British parliament was iniquitous, and unconstitutional. Borne down by the weighty hand of oppression, they were afraid, openly and in direct terms, to vindicate their privileges.

IN one of their reports, the trustees had scandalously misrepresented the Protestants of Ireland. In this some of the commons had been concerned. The house, offended by this conduct, so unbecoming in itself, so prejudicial to individuals, and so injurious to their country, made them feel the severest effects of their displeasure.

AGREEABLY to a resolution of the committee for considering the state of the nation, a representation was presented by parliament, to the lord lieutenant, to be delivered to her Majesty, in which they complain, that the constitution of the kingdom had been injured, and the lives, liberties, and estates of the people had been called in question, in a manner unknown to their ancestors; that the current cash of the kingdom was not equal to the extraordinary expence incurred, by the trustees appointed for managing the forfeited estates, who, besides this just cause of complaint, made false representations to her Majesty of the Protestants of Ireland, to create jealousies betwixt the two countries, and procure beneficial employments to themselves; that her subjects here felt deeply their loss of trade; that they could not earn their livelihood, or support their own manufactures, that their foreign commerce laboured under such restriction, as to have become, in a great measure unprofitable, though

though to the blood and treasure of Ireland, England had been much indebted, with respect to the advantages of trade, which she enjoyed from her American plantations; that the infrequent meeting of parliament, was a principal cause of the national misfortunes. Of these and other grievances which they enumerated, they intreat a redress from her Majesty. Having voted the necessary supplies, they proceeded with laudable spirit, to inquire into and rectify certain public abuses, which lay within the limits of their own jurisdiction; particularly, to their distinguished honor, they abolished useless pensions, to the amount of sixteen thousand pounds a year. This just punishment of the worthless, and attention to the interest of their country, was highly worthy of praise and imitation. But it has been seldom imitated. How many scandalous prostitutes to government, or to the vices of the great, whose merit is their infamy and disgrace, are supported by the labours of the most industrious, and the most useful members of society!

AN act to settle the succession in the house of Hanover, similar to that enacted in England, in the conclusion of the late reign, was now passed, as likewise a law to disqualify Roman Catholics from voting at elections, and from serving as members of parliament.

To the representation of the commons, her Majesty returned the following answer: "The first part of it seems to relate to matters past in parliament, and the other part consisting only of things in general, her Majesty can give no particular answer to at present, but will take them into her consideration." This cold reply discovered great indifference to the welfare of Ireland.

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THE linen manufacture was now likely to become an object of the first consequence, to the prosperity of the nation. The commons transmitted a bill in favour of it, accompanied by a warm address, in which they pointed out the necessity of our being permitted to export it, to the plantations, and requested her Majesty, to use her influence with the English parliament for that purpose. How disgraceful and humiliating was this circumstance !

THE difference betwixt such as were for limiting the regal powers, within the bounds pointed out by the constitution, and those who ascribed to them a kind of absolute sovereignty, had subsisted from the most remote period, At the revolution, it was marked by the party distinction of whig and tory. The former reprobated, the latter approved the slavish doctrines of passive obedience, and non resistance. However extraordinary it must appear, mere words, whether in religion or politics, used to distinguish the abettors of certain opinions, from those who are of different sentiments, tend to increase mutually the violence of opposition, and to blow up the flame of contention. From England, the terms whig and tory passed over to this country, and contributed to multiply those distractions, which disturbed the public tranquillity. Of this, Rochester, a man of tory principles, was an active instrument, and the Duke of Ormond followed his example.

THIS new cause of animosity was particularly hurtful to the Roman Catholics, whose situation for some time past was much more agreeable. In general the tories were jacobites, or the partizans of James, to whose interest the Roman Catholics had been warmly attached ; hence in the eye of the whigs, they became objects of particular resentment.

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To break the power of the more distinguished Popish families, was effectually to lessen the influence of those who were of that religious persuasion. In order to this, through the interest of the whigs, a clause of a bill against Popery, which passed the commons, enacted, that all estates should be equally divided among the children of Roman Catholics, notwithstanding any settlements to the contrary, unless the persons to whom they were to descend, would qualify, by taking the oaths prescribed by government, and conform to the established church. The bill was transmitted. At this time, the Queen was in alliance with the Emperor, to whom she had applied for indulgence to the protestants in his dominions. Therefore to pass a law, so extremely injurious to a body of men of his own religious sentiments, appeared to her indecent and unreasonable, but as those by whom it was supported, were very zealous in favour of it, to reject it absolutely, appeared dangerous. Her ministers devised this expedient. They added to the bill a clause, by which all persons in Ireland were rendered incapable of any employment under the crown, or of being magistrates in any city, who, agreeably to the English test act, did not receive the sacrament as prescribed by the church of England. To this it was thought the Protestant dissenters, who had considerable influence in the Irish parliament, would not submit, and so the bill would be rejected; but they did submit, and it passed into a law. The part of this act which affected Roman Catholics, and that which deprived Protestant dissenters of privileges, that were their undoubted right as loyal subjects, and zealous friends of the constitution, were equally unjust and illiberal.

THE following resolutions of the commons were much to their credit. "Resolved, that in consequence of the great decay of trade, and discouragement of the manufactures of this kingdom, many poor tradesmen are reduced to extreme beggary. Resolved, that it will greatly conduce to the relief of the said poor, and to the good of the kingdom, that the inhabitants wear none other than the manufactures of it, in their apparel and the furniture of their houses. The members of the house did unanimously pledge their honours to each other, that they will conform to said resolution. Pride and self interest, restrained in their gratification by the love of our country, and by motives of charity and compassion, are a glorious sacrifice." Had Irishmen been less partial to foreign manufactures, had they cherished their own, with that regard inspired by nature, by patriotism, and benevolence, long since they would have arrived at a much greater degree of perfection, and have essentially promoted the interest of individuals, and the national prosperity.

IN February, the attention of the upper house had been turned, to an unconstitutional interference of the English lords, who during the interval of parliament, had dispossessed the Earl and Countess of Meath of certain lands, their right to which had been determined by a decree in this country. To express their displeasure against this encroachment, and to vindicate their rights, the Irish peers resolved, "That by the ancient known laws, and statutes of this kingdom, her Majesty hath an undoubted jurisdiction, and prerogative of judging in this her high court of parliament, in all appeals and causes within her realm of Ireland. That the determinations of this court are final, and conclusive, and cannot be reversed by any court whatsoever.

That if any subject within this kingdom, shall hereafter presume to remove any cause, determined in this high court of parliament, to any other court, such person or persons shall be deemed betrayors of her Majesty's prerogative, and jurisdiction, and the undoubted ancient rights and privileges of this honourable house, and of the rights and liberties of the subjects of this kingdom. That if any subject, within this kingdom, shall presume to put in execution any order from any other court, contrary to the final determination of this high court of parliament, such person or persons, shall be deemed betrayors of her Majesty's prerogative and jurisdiction, and the undoubted ancient rights and privileges of this house, and of the rights and liberties of the subjects of this kingdom."

Adieu.

LETTER LXIV.

TO allay the heats which arose among the members, towards the conclusion of the former session, from an apprehension of the designs of the tory party, the lord lieutenant had prorogued the 1705. parliament. It met the tenth of February. The usual addresses were presented, after which the commons voted, that a supply not exceeding a hundred and fifty thousand pounds be granted, to defray the expence of her Majesty's government. The heads of a bill had been brought into parliament, relating to the linen manufacture, which the clergy thought contained a clause prejudicial to their tythes. A memorial was presented to the commons, by the lower house of convocation, desiring that the bill might be stopped in it's progress, until counsel should be heard in their behalf. The commons

commons were highly offended by this interference of the clergy, in a matter of civil property, which they considered as altogether unconstitutional. To avert their displeasure, and hoping at the same time to accomplish their design, the convocation attempted to soften their memorial. This had no effect. The house voted, that every thing respecting the business should be erased from the journals.

ON account of these disputes, Ormond prorogued the parliament until the first of May. During this interval, in order to view the state of the country, and to strengthen the fortified towns in that quarter, he made a progress through the North. The people, much pleased with this mark of attention to the security of the kingdom, gave him as he passed along a most favourable reception. In Antrim and Derry he was addressed by the Presbyterian ministers, who wished to remove some unfavourable aspersions, which had been cast upon those of their denomination, in consequence of certain late transactions in Scotland.

THE tory party in England, had dispatched emissaries to this country, to join their efforts to those of their own political principles, in spreading discontents among the people, with respect to the safety of church and state. To effect the purpose for which they were employed, these partizans, with the assistance of their friends, had been very active. Upon the meeting of parliament the commons resolved, that to promote such misunderstandings, that to write or disperse pamphlets, or otherwise to insinuate danger to the church, tended to the advantage of Popery, and the cause of the Pretender; weakened the Protestant interest, was seditious, and of pernicious consequence to her Majesty's govern-

ment, and the succession of the Protestant line, as by law established.

THE convocation, to remove all suspicions by which they were affected in respect to this matter, resolved, that the church and state were lately in the greatest danger, from which they had been delivered by the revolution, accomplished under God, by King William of glorious memory. That the continuance and improvement of these blessings, through the kindness of Providence, was owing to the auspicious reign and happy government of her Majesty Queen Anne. That the future security of the church and nation, under God, depended wholly on the succession of the Protestant line, as by law established. That if any clergyman of their order, by word or writing, would declare any thing contrary to the above resolutions, he would be considered as a sower of division among Protestants of the established church, and an enemy to the constitution. To which they added the following intolerant resolution; that for any person to teach or preach against the doctrine, government, rites or ceremonies of the established church, or to keep seminaries for educating youth in principles contrary to it, in contempt of the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom, was of pernicious consequence, and served to widen the divisions and schisms which prevailed in it.

THE same party spirit, and the same mutual jealousies continued to disturb the peace of the nation.

ON the twenty fourth of June seventeen hundred and seven, the Earl of Pembroke, who had been created lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived in Dublin. The parliament met on the seventh of July. Preliminary matters being settled, the commons brought in heads of a bill, and passed several very severe resolutions to prevent the increase of Popery.

Shortly

Shortly after it was declared by a vote of the house, that the kingdom had been put to excessive charges, by the returns made by the trustees of arrears upon forfeited estates, most of which appeared unjust. They resolved, " that an humble representation be made to her Majesty, of the grievance of such returns, and of other oppressive proceedings of the trustees." On the twenty fourth of October, Pembroke went to the house of lords, and gave the royal assent to several public and private bills. Nothing farther of importance was done. The parliament was prorogued.

THE parliament which met in seventeen hundred and nine, under the administration of the Earl of Wharton, addressed his excellency, requesting that her Majesty would grant five thousand pounds, for the purpose of erecting a public library in Trinity College near Dublin. The provost, fellows, and scholars, had recommended themselves in a very particular manner to the notice of the house, by their steady attachment to the principles of the revolution. For aspersing the memory of King William, they had degraded and expelled Edward Forbes, one of their members. To this application in their behalf, her Majesty returned a favourable answer.

Of all the Tories of the time, none was more violent than Doctor Browne Bishop of Cork. It was usual with the friends of the revolution, in order to express, and to cherish their gratitude to the great instrument of that inestimable blessing, to drink the pious and the glorious memory of King William the Third. This offended the Bishop, who on account of his resentment against this particular instance, endeavoured to shew, in a performance which he published on the occasion, that the custom of drinking healths was chargeable with impiety. But this

idea was treated with contempt, and the practice, more especially as it reflected honor upon the revolution and the memory of King William, universally prevailed. This trifling circumstance would not merit attention, did it not tend to point out the spirit of the times.

A MONEY bill which had been transmitted to England, was returned with alterations, upon which a debate took place in the house, concerning this infringement of the privileges of parliament. It was determined by a large majority, in which there were several of the court members, to reject the bill in it's present form.

FIVE hundred families of Palatine refugees, forced from their country, came over to look for a settlement in Ireland. The commons having taken their case into particular consideration, passed a number of resolutions in their favour; equally expressive of their benevolence and patriotism.

THE Earl of Wharton was not long continued governor of Ireland, He had professed the principles of whiggism, but was profligate in his morals, avowed himself openly an infidel, despised every thing serious, and treated with contempt all the obligations of religion. Such an example in the ruler of a nation had the most pernicious tendency. His removal was an act of justice to the kingdom, and to be desired by the virtuous of all parties.

ONE of the many disputes, occasioned by the party spirit which became every day more violent in both kingdoms, was that which arose in Dublin, in seventeen hundred and thirteen, relative to the election of a Lord Mayor. That office was then filled by Sir Samuel Cook, whose principles were hostile to the revolution. In his absence, the aldermen elected Mr. Pleasant a whig, as his successor.

By

By certain late regulations, calculated to promote the interest of the tory party, the Lord Mayor had been invested with a right to nominate three aldermen, one of whom, unless to them all reasonable objections could be made, must be chosen to succeed him. Sir Samuel would not acquiesce in the election, which, upon the matter being referred to to their determination, was set aside by the privy council. The aldermen then were summoned by the Lord Mayor, to make a new choice. To one of the three, whom he proposed to their consideration, who was not an alderman, twenty of them objected. Before any thing could be determined, the court was dismissed. This contest communicating to the friends and the connexions of the opposite parties, threw the city into a flame, which was attended by the greatest disorder and confusion, and continued to the death of the Queen. It was raging when the Duke of Shrewsbury arrived to take upon him the government of Ireland. Shrewsbury was a tory in principle, but from policy he espoused openly the interest of the whigs. By his protection, he animated the hopes of the well affected to the revolution, and the Protestant succession. On the anniversary of his birth day, he drank publicly to the pious and glorious memory of King William. To make the scene more brilliant, his Dutchess gave to the nobility and gentry a magnificent ball, and the evening was concluded with extraordinary demonstrations of joy.

In Dublin, and the other parts of the kingdom, the election for members of parliament was warmly contested. When the house met, it appeared that of the commons, the whigs had a small majority, but that in the peers, the strength of the opposite party was prevalent. Enquiry into the cause, and the

the abettors of a riot, which had happened at the election of members for the city, led the commons to animadvert severely, upon the inflammatory conduct of Sir Constantine Phipps, lord chancellor, whose attachment to the arch jacobite Sacheverell, had been particularly distinguished. For acting a part, in a variety of respects hostile to the constitution, and to the liberties of his country, they resolved, that an address should be presented to her Majesty, to remove him from his place of Lord Chancellor, for the peace and the safety of her Protestant subjects of Ireland. To this the lords passed resolutions directly the reverse. Irritated by this opposition, the commons renewed their censures of the Chancellor, in a manner which placed his conduct in a still more obnoxious point of view. But they were ineffectual. The government of England was now directed by new men, and by new measures.

Adieu.

L E T T E R LXV.

ONE of the most strenuous assertors of liberty, and of revolution principles, in this country, was the Right Honourable Robert Molesworth. At this time a particular circumstance happened, which rendered him very conspicuous. With the change of the British ministry, the professed political sentiments of the convocation changed also. In the year seventeen hundred and five, they avowed principles most friendly to the revolution; those which they now patronized were quite of a contrary complexion. To express their zeal in the cause of jacobitism, they carried up an address to the Castle, in favour of the Chancellor, with a view to counteract that

that which just before had been presented by the commons. On their entering, Mr. Moleworth, who happened to be present, said to some gentlemen near him. "they who have turned the world upside down, are come hither also." He was overheard by the clergy. They took fire, and complained of the aspersion to the lords. The lords desired a conference with the commons, but they treated the matter with indifference. However, the English ministry chose to consider it in a different light. To the disgrace of their principles, they removed Mr. Moleworth from the privy council.

So great was the confidence they placed in the dangerous schemes of government, now in agitation, that the friends of the Pretender began openly to enlist men in this country, for his service.

It was highly honourable to our parliament and a singular blessing to the nation, that from the accession of the Queen, they had uniformly supported the principles of the revolution. What a pity it is, that heated by a spirit of party, impressed by too strong a sense of past transactions, and perverted by the old leaven of religious bigotry, they reduced the Roman Catholics to a state of depression, which every sentiment of benevolence loudly condemns, and which no argument of policy or of reason can justify. The act of restraining them, with respect to the conveyance of their estates, has been already mentioned. This is but one of the many additional oppressions laid upon them by parliament. They were forbidden to realize the produce of their industry, under the penalty of forfeiture. Under the penalty of forfeiture, they were excluded from the benefit of leasehold interest, for a longer term than thirty one years; even with respect to this advantage, restrictions were imposed upon them, one of which

which was, that if their farm produced more than a third profit, their right in it was immediately to cease, and to pass over entirely to the first Protestant discoverer. The parliament invested the son of a Roman Catholic, who would conform to the established religion, with a power over his father's inheritance. The father became tenant for life, and that under mortifying restrictions. Not only purchased estates in land, but small tenements, even houses were made discoverable by law, and became the property of the first Protestant informer. A horse of five pounds value, belonging to a Roman Catholic, might upon information, be taken from him without any equivalent. Under the penalty of a hundred pound, every Papist was forbidden to keep more than two apprentices, who were to be bound to him for a term, not less than seven years. To Roman Catholics seminaries of education in this country were expressly prohibited, and if they sent their children to be instructed abroad, they became subject to punishment. In respect to the exercise of their religion, it was restricted by a variety of new and aggravating oppressions. The fetters imposed upon conscience and their civil privileges, were almost numberless. To read the laws enacted against these unhappy people at this period, fills the heart with anguish. Was it reasonable thus to deprive men of their natural rights, to encrease the miseries of those, who, except for a few preceding years, had been grievously afflicted? Is it reasonable to be unjust? The public faith was plighted to the Roman Catholics, by the articles of Limerick. Where was the national honor, in realizing the suspicions entertained of government, by the fourteen thousand who deserted their country, to the prejudice of those, who reposed in the rectitude of its intentions an implicit

plicit confidence? The latter encouraged by the prospect of future security, began to cultivate their lands, and to pursue their several avocations. Though the greatest part of the English troops were removed, not the least attempt was made by the Irish to disturb the public tranquillity. Besides, trusting to the sentiments, which he concluded would be inspired in the natives by better treatment, the wisdom, the justice and humanity of King William, with respect to them, were conspicuous above all the sovereigns, who, from the time of Henry the Second, had sat upon the English throne. But scarcely was this excellent prince laid in the grave, when notwithstanding the visible salutary effects of his lenity towards the Roman Catholics, which had lasted ten years, and were likely to continue, they began to be treated with rigour. It daily encreased, until it far exceeded the severity of former times. In vain the imprudence of a few Catholics, or suspicions with respect to the intentions of a number of those of the lower class, in favour of the Pretender, were pleaded in justification of such measures. No act of disloyalty, no design of disturbing the peace of government, could upon a reasonable foundation, be charged on the body of that people. As kindness, or rather common justice, had begun to remove their dissatisfaction, and to attach them to government, the contrary usage alienated their affections from it, and from their country. They ceased to cultivate their farms, and converted them to grazing. Industry drooped. A number of the inhabitants of Leinster, Munster and Connaught emigrated, and sought elsewhere for the means of subsistence.

Adieu.

LET-

L E T T E R LXVI.

IF the Irish parliament, during the present reign, encroached upon the privileges of the Roman Catholics, the same treatment was measured out to themselves by the parliament of England.

THE illegal interference of the English lords, in the cause of the Earl and Countess of Meath has been mentioned.

By a British act of parliament, the town of New Ross, in the county of Wexford, was made a port for exporting wool from this country to England. By the same pretended authority, we were permitted to export linen cloth to the Plantations, and prohibited to import that commodity from Scotland. By a British act, a limited time was appointed, for persons to advance their claims to forfeited estates and other interests in Ireland.

A STATUTE, to prevent the growth of schism in England concludes thus, "Be it enacted, that all and every the remedies, provisions and clauses, by this act given, made and enacted, shall extend to Ireland, in as full and effectual a manner, as if Ireland had been expressly named and mentioned, in all and every the clauses of said act." Thus did they continue to pursue a system of policy, with respect to us, illiberal, injurious to the rights of our legislature, of which we had long complained, particularly as you have perceived, during the whole of the late reign. Both with respect to themselves and others, men of tory principles are insensible to the blessings of freedom. But it is astonishing that whigs, the avowed and the zealous patrons of liberty, had no scruple, and were struck by no feeling of inconsistency, in trampling on the privileges of the Irish constitution.

stitution. In the former part of her reign, whigs directed the counsels of the Queen. However unkind they were to our rights, during their administration, the great objects of the revolution, with respect to Britain were invariably pursued, and the glory of the empire raised to a high degree of splendour, by the astonishing victories gained over the armies of France, under the auspices of the illustrious Duke of Marlborough. But she changed her ministers, and the counsels of her government. Her laurels faded. A dishonourable peace tarnished the brilliancy of a successful war. Those fears of the revolutioners, with respect to the designs of the opposite party, which had made them so uneasy, were likely to be realized. The constitution tottered on the brink of destruction. Providence kindly interposed, and to the unspeakable joy of the friends of liberty, removed the Queen by death, on the first of August seventeen hundred and fourteen.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LXVII.

FROM the change of the ministry, the tories had entertained the most flattering hopes, of trampling over the political views of the opposite party. To break through the order of succession, as established by the act of settlement, in favour of the Pretender, was the great object of their wishes, and of all their intrigues. But the premature death of the Queen, who had entered into their design, broke their bond of union, left them without a head, and blasted their expectations. Happily for these nations, the friends of the house of Hanover were the majority in the privy council. The late joyful event dissipated the thick cloud which hung
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over their prospect, and infused life, spirit and zeal into their exertions, and those of their associates, in favour of the Protestant succession. The tories brooded in silent discontent over their mortifying disappointment. Without opposition, George the First, son of Ernest Augustus, Elector of Brunswick, and of Sophia, grand-daughter of James the First, was proclaimed and acknowledged king in Britain and Ireland. As he was sensible, inclined to business, had obtained experience from age, and was attached to the principles of the revolution, very favourable expectations were formed, of the wisdom and rectitude of his government. The tories, as they had every reason to expect, were rejected from his counsels; public affairs were entirely committed to the management of whigs, the men who had placed him on the throne, and upon whose assistance only, he could with confidence and safety depend for support.

THE Irish parliament met in November seventeen hundred and fifteen. Warmly attached to his Majesty, and to the principles of his government, they recognized his title to the crown. Towards the conclusion of the late reign, a bill had been brought into our parliament, to attain the Pretender. By the counsel of her ministers the Queen prorogued the parliament, to prevent this bill from passing into a law. The same influence prevailed with her Majesty, to disband a great part of the army in Ireland, that no effectual opposition might be given by the revolutioners, to the schemes then designed to be carried into execution. The commons now resolved, that whoever advised these unconstitutional measures, Arthur Earl of Anglesey in particular, were enemies to the succession, as by law established in the illustrious house of Hanover, to
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the Protestant religion, and friends to the Pretender. Having been informed by the lords justices, that by an express from one of the secretaries of state, it was intimated, that this kingdom would be suddenly invaded; the commons addressed his Majesty, expressing their abhorrence of this design, their intention of using every means in order to defeat it, and their zeal and affection for his person and government. Immediately after this proof of their loyalty, they entered into an association, for the defence of the kingdom, against the hostile designs of the Pretender and all his abettors. The information which had been received from government, respecting the views of the Pretender towards this kingdom, had not been well founded. It was in Scotland that the Pretender designed to make an effort in support of his cause. There the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster took the field near the borders, about the end of Summer, and proclaimed him king. Though the number of their partizans was inconsiderable, they were so rash as to penetrate into England. When they had advanced as far as Preston, they were surrounded by a body of troops, commanded by the generals Wills and Carpenter, and taken prisoners.

MEAN while, the Earl of Mar, who had likewise taken up arms in Scotland in favour of the Pretender, found himself at the head of ten thousand men, with this force and some clans by which he was afterwards joined, he also directed his march towards England. The Duke of Argyle, commander in chief of the troops in North Britain, led against him three thousand five hundred men, which he had hastily collected upon the occasion, and came up with him in the neighbourhood of Dunblain. Notwithstanding his disparity in point of numbers, he resolved

resolved to engage the enemy. In the battle which ensued, Argyle, with the wing which he commanded, broke that of the rebels which opposed him, and drove them off the field, whilst the other wing of their army was equally victorious. The engagement ended, without either side having a right to claim the superiority. But the consequences to the King's troops, were as favourable as if they had obtained a decisive victory. The castle of Inverness surrendered to Argyle, and a considerable part of Mar's forces, being stopped in their progress, deserted and returned home.

THE Earl of Mar, Lord Derwentwater, and Mr. Foster had taken up arms on the presumption, that the adherents of James would flock to their standards, in such numbers, as to give their efforts in behalf of his cause, a prospect of success. It now plainly appeared that this was a groundless expectation.

THE Pretender, hoping that his presence would dissipate the fears, and rouse the attachment of his friends, into a general and vigorous exertion in his favour, set off privately from France, and accompanied by only six gentlemen, arrived in Scotland on the twenty second of December. In this attempt there was no wisdom. It was too long deferred. The late disappointment had extinguished the spirit of his friends. After a short stay in the kingdom, during which he discovered much vanity and little prudence, he abandoned the enterprize and returned to France.

WHILST Britain was involved in these confusions, Ireland enjoyed uninterrupted peace. The tories remained perfectly quiet, nor did the Roman Catholics, notwithstanding their grievous oppressions and the jealousies entertained of them, make the smallest

est attempt to disturb the public tranquillity. Our parliament set a price on the head of the Pretender, and passed a bill of attainder against the Duke of Ormond, whose unconstitutional principles were particularly obnoxious. They likewise resolved, that an address should be presented to the lords justices, to recommend the corporation of Dublin to his Majesty for a mark of royal favour, to perpetuate the virtue and faithful services of the aldermen and sheriffs, which in the late contest for the choice of a Lord Mayor, had been so remarkable.

Adieu.

L E T T E R LXVIII.

IN the year seventeen hundred and nineteen, the injuries of this country were aggravated in a degree, quite intolerable to the feelings of freemen. The transactions of that memorable period, which I am now about to relate, have impressed a stain on the justice of the English nation, which nothing can obliterate, but their paying in time to come, a sacred regard to the constitutional privileges of this country. It is in the virtues of Britons of the present and future times alone, that we can forget the despotism of their ancestors.

A CAUSE, relative to an estate betwixt Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesly, was tried before the court of exchequer in Ireland. The latter obtained a decree which upon appeal, was reversed by the lords. From their sentence Annesly appealed to the English peers, by whom the judgment given in his favour by the court of exchequer was confirmed, and an order issued to put him in possession of the disputed estate. Against this illegal determination, Sherlock petitioned the Irish house of

lords. In this affair, the dignity of the peers and the privileges of the nation were deeply involved. The first step the lords took was to propose to the consideration of the judges, whether by the laws of the land, an appeal lies from a decree of the court of exchequer in Ireland, to the King in parliament in Great Britain? This question they determined in the negative. The peers then resolved, that they would support their honor, jurisdiction, and privileges, by giving the petitioner Hester Sherlock effectual relief, pursuant to a former order. Notwithstanding, some time after a petition was presented to the house, by Alexander Burrowes sheriff of Kildare, setting forth, that his predecessor in office had put Hester Sherlock in possession of the premises. That upon his entering into office, an injunction agreeably to an order of the English peers, issued from the exchequer, commanding him to restore Maurice Annesly to the possession of the above mentioned lands; that not daring to act in contradiction to the order of the house, he was fined. That in consequence of this, being afraid lest he should be taken into custody, he durst not venture to come in to pass his accounts, for which he was fined twelve hundred pounds.

UPON which the lords resolved, " that Alexander Burrowes Esquire, in not obeying the injunction issued from his Majesty's court of exchequer, in the cause betwixt Sherlock and Annesly, has behaved himself with integrity and courage, and with due respect to the orders and resolutions of the house. That the fines imposed upon him be taken off. That the lord chief barons of the exchequer, in the cause betwixt Sherlock and Annesly, and also respecting the Sheriff of Kildare, had acted in manifest derogation to and diminution of the King's prerogative,

tive, of finally judging in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of this kingdom and it's parliament." Orders then passed the house, that the barons of the exchequer for this offence should be taken into custody, which were accordingly executed. In vindication of these measures and of the rights of the nation, they drew up a representation to be presented to his Majesty.

In this excellent paper they represent, that by many ancient records and sundry acts of parliament it appeared, that the Kings and principal men of Ireland did without compulsion, submit to Henry the Second as their liege lord, who at the desire of the Irish, ordained that the laws of England should be of force, and observed in this kingdom. That by this agreement we obtained the benefit of English law, with many other privileges, particularly that of having a distinct parliament, in which weighty and important matters relating to this kingdom, were to be treated, discussed, and determined. That this concession and compact, ratified by succeeding kings, encouraged the English to come over and settle in Ireland, where they were to enjoy the same laws, the same liberties, and a constitution similar to that of England. That by this constitution and these privileges, his Majesty's subjects had been enabled to discharge their duty faithfully to the crown; that therefore they insisted upon them, and hoped to have them preserved inviolable. That though the imperial crown of this realm was annexed to that of Great Britain, yet being a distinct dominion, and being no part of the kingdom of England, none could determine with respect to the affairs of it, but such as were authorized by it's known laws and customs, or the express consent of the King. That it was an invasion of his Majesty's prerogative,

rogative, and a grievance to his Irish subjects, for any court of judicature to take upon them to declare, that he could not by his authority in parliament, determine all controversies betwixt his subjects of this kingdom, or that when they appeal to his Majesty in parliament here, they did not bring their cause before a competent judicature. That in relation to the removal of causes by appeal from this kingdom, our judges being sometimes ignorant of the common law of England, which was the rule of their decisions, did apply to his Majesty for information, which he gave them by the advice, and with the assistance of the justices of the King's bench, who in ancient times constantly attended his person. That when the King's bench came to be fixed, appeals were made to it, though the King was not personally present. That from hence it could not be inferred upon any ground, that appeals from the parliament of Ireland, might be brought before the house of peers in England. They represent, that but two instances occurred, of appeals from the Irish court of chancery to the English peers, prior to the revolution, and two instances subsequent to it, until the year seventeen hundred and three, none of which ought to affect the jurisdiction of the Irish lords, as by the principles and the nature of their constitution, whatever judicial powers were lodged in the British parliament, with respect to that kingdom and its inferior courts, the same must likewise be vested in the parliament of Ireland, with respect to this kingdom and its inferior courts. That therefore in the year seventeen hundred and three, upon a complaint of the Earl and Countess of Meath, that during the interval of parliament, an order of the English peers had dispossessed them of certain lands, which had been decreed them here,

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the Irish parliament restored them effectually, to the undisturbed possession of them. That there was just reason to conclude they would have acted the same part, respecting the appeal of the Bishop of Derry, had he not been removed, and a composition made by his successor with the London society prevented it. Then they state the appeal of Maurice Annesly from their judgement, with all the particulars of the interference of the English lords, in that cause, injurious to their privileges. The pernicious consequences of this usurped jurisdiction of the British peers, are next pointed out by them with spirit and perspicuity.

THEY observe to his Majesty, that it is the right, and the happiness of his subjects in this kingdom, as well as of those in Britain, that by their respective constitutions, justice is administered to them without much trouble or expence, in the kingdom to which they belong; but if his Majesty is deprived of the power of finally determining causes here, in his high court of parliament, those who were unable to follow them to Britain, must submit to whatever wrongs they might suffer, from the more rich and powerful. That if all judgments made in his Majesty's highest court within this kingdom, were subject to be reversed by the Lords in Great Britain, the liberty and property of all his subjects of Ireland, must thereby become finally dependent on the British peers, to the great diminution of that dependence, which by law they ought always to have on the English crown. That if the interference of the English lords in receiving appeals from Ireland, be recognized and supported, it would take away the power from his Majesty, of determining causes in his parliament of this country, and confine it entirely to the parliament of Britain. That the writs for

summoning the lords and commons in both countries being the same, they must in each kingdom be possessed of equal powers, or else the peerage of their nation be little more than an empty title, and the commons stand for ever deprived of the privilege of impeaching in parliament, which right could not possibly be maintained, if there were not within the realm a parliamentary judicature. That if the power of judicature may, by a vote of the British lords, be taken away from the parliament of Ireland, no reason could be given why the same lords might not, in the like manner, deprive us of the benefit of our whole constitution. That the lords of Great Britain have not in themselves any way, either by law or custom, of executing their decrees in Ireland. That this could only be accomplished by an extraordinary exertion of royal power, which would be highly prejudicial to the liberties of this nation.

IN conclusion, they inform his Majesty, that to prevent the appellant Esther Sherlock, from making farther application to the Irish parliament, his deputy receiver had paid her the sum of above eighteen hundred pounds, which to the prejudice of his Majesty's subjects, he expected would be refunded by government. That these proceedings of the English lords had greatly embarrassed his parliament of Ireland, disgusted the generality of his loyal subjects, and must of necessity expose all sheriffs and officers of justice to the greatest hardships, by this interference of different jurisdictions. They hope that all these things being duly considered, his Majesty would justify the steps they had taken, for supporting his prerogative, and the just rights and liberties of themselves and their fellow subjects.

Farewell.

L E T.

LETTER LXIX.

THE representation and the proceedings of the house of lords in Ireland, concerning appeals, being transmitted to his Majesty, pursuant to an address for that purpose, they were laid before the British house of lords and read. Upon which, instead of departing from the mode of conduct they had adopted, with respect to this country, the injustice of which was here placed to their view in a clear and striking light, they resolved, that the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, in their proceedings in the cause between Annesley and Sherlock, in obedience to their orders, had acted with courage according to law, in support of his Majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain. That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to confer on them some mark of his royal favour, as a recompense for the injuries they had received, by being unjustly censured, and illegally imprisoned for doing their duty.

THE Duke of Leeds entered a warm and spirited protest against these resolutions. No advocate for the liberties of Ireland could have pleaded in behalf of them, with more zeal than was discovered by this distinguished nobleman on this occasion.

HAVING thus interposed, in behalf of these apostates from virtue and the cause of their country, the English peers completed the measures of their despotism, by ordering a bill to be brought in, for the better securing the dependency of Ireland, upon the crown of Great Britain. The bill being prepared accordingly was brought in, and having passed the lords was sent down to the commons. Every Irishman

man should be acquainted with all the parts of this chain forged to annihilate the privileges of our constitution. It was as follows.

“ WHEREAS attempts have been lately made, to shake off the subjection of Ireland unto, and dependence upon the imperial crown of this realm; which will be of dangerous consequence to Great Britain and Ireland. And whereas the lords of Ireland in order thereto, have of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the courts of justice in the kingdom of Ireland; therefore, for the better securing of the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, may it please your Majesty, that it may be enacted, and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be subordinate unto, and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes, of sufficient force, and validity, to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland.

“ AND be it farther enacted and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the house of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within
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the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords, upon any such judgment, sentence or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

THIS bill met in the commons with considerable opposition. Eighty three members, among whom were the Lords Moleworth and Tirconnel, two Irish peers, Mr. Hungerford, and Mr. Pits, voted against it. But it passed into a law, with a majority of fifty seven.

THUS did the British parliament, by this extraordinary statute, attempt to cast a veil over the iniquity of it's former usurpations, to sanctify injustice, to rob of their constitutional privileges, under the claim of a pretended right, three millions of freemen.

No self evident principle is more plain, than that the design of this law was to enslave the people of Ireland. The very distinction betwixt freemen and slaves is, that freemen are governed by their own laws, slaves by the laws of others. Now the laws of the British parliament, to which we are here declared to owe subjection, are not our laws, if therefore we are bound by them, Irishmen are slaves. The authority asserted over us in this statute by the English legislature, is absolute, without limits, without restriction, without the smallest reservation in favour of our privileges. It is an authority to restrain our commerce, to control our courts of justice, to tax us without our consent, to dispose of our persons, of our lives and our property, at pleasure. It is an authority to abrogate the rights which we received from nature and to destroy utterly our laws and constitution. The title of the act expresses the design of it, in legible characters. It is, "for better securing the

the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain." The crown of Great Britain is here intended to include all the branches of the English legislature, so that whatever security of our rights we were still in possession of, whatever remains of our liberty were left undestroyed by former encroachments, were by this law to be annihilated. If, as they here declare, the parliament of England had, hath, and of right ought to have full power and authority, to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind Ireland, why from the most remote period of antiquity, were we free from the control of any other nation under heaven, and in connection with the British sovereigns, from the invasion of Henry the Second, possessed of all the legislative and executive powers, necessary to a free, to a distinct and independent kingdom? Why was the authority of our parliament, to make laws exclusively to bind us, never before called in question by that of England, and the exercise of it disturbed by none, or at most by only a very few interruptions, during a period of near five hundred years? From the accession of Charles the First, the course of our legislature was frequently interrupted, by the encroachments of the English parliament; even then no attempt was made to justify it. This claim of authority to control our national privileges, which could not be made, until every principle of justice was corrupted by a spirit of ambitious domination, was never published to the world, until the year seventeen hundred and nineteen. Is it not strange, had they thought it to be consistent with reason or with equity, or with the relation which subsisted betwixt the two countries, that they permitted it to lie dormant for so many centuries? Nations, instead
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of suspending their own, are prone to encroach upon the rights of others.

THE same principle which excited the British parliament, to claim a controuling power over the acts of our legislature, should have prompted them to order over their fleets and armies to extinguish it, and to cut up by one effectual effort the roots of our constitution. Then deprived of the substance, we would not have been tantalized by the forms of independence. Then if Irishmen were unable to raise themselves from this humiliating condition, and to vindicate their liberty, the objects of freedom being removed from before their eyes, they would have learned to wear their chains with less mortifying sensibility. But our parliament must remain, to do those offices of government inconvenient to the British legislature. We must toil, they must superintend, must direct, must reap all the honor, the dignity and consequence resulting from our labours. Mere names are insignificant; like gilded toys they only impose upon children. A legislative body, subject in the exercise of it's jurisdiction to any control but that of justice, and the authority of it's own constitution, is not a parliament. Our parliament upon the principles of the declaratory act, is no more entitled to that honourable appellation, than the magistrates of a petty corporate town, who can do no act, but as they are permitted by the national legislature.

IN this memorable statute we are informed by the British parliament, that our legislature, in exercising one of it's privileges, distinct from and independent of that of England, have acted contrary to law. What law? Is it the law of God? That is impossible, for he abominates tyrants. Of his infinite kindness he desires, that all his creatures should enjoy

enjoy the blessings of equal liberty, with as little restraint as they breathe the vital air, or as they partake of the influences of the enlivening sun. Is it the law of justice? No; for to exact obedience, where it is not due, is most unjust. Is it the law of compact? Quite the reverse; for that we should have parliaments of our own, uncontrouled in their authority by any foreign jurisdiction, and a constitution as free as that of England, was the original condition, ratified by subsequent concessions, upon which we became and continued subject to the British kings. Is it the law of England? Neither could this be; for it is no law to us; besides no antecedent law existed there, respecting the dependance of Ireland; the declaratory act is the first of the kind which disgraced their statute books. The only law which remained, forbidding our legislature the exercise of their constitutional privileges, was the law of force, the law by which the robber takes away my property, or the assassin bereaves me of life; the law by which tyrants trample on the rights of human nature, and reduce freemen to the abject condition of slaves. If from the beginning of our intercourse with Britain, this law of power had been uniformly exerted, so as to prevent us from being possessed of either laws or constitution; if no concessions had been made in our favour; if none of those agreements with the British kings had ever existed, from which we derive our chartered rights; our claim to national independance, and to the blessings of a free government, would stand upon the most immoveable foundation. It would be sanctified by the love of liberty, wrought so deeply into the human mind, as to be inseparable from its existence; it would be sanctified by the dictates of reason, and the great privileges of humanity. This claim, however

ever borne down by superior force, would still exist in full vigour. In vain would the despot plead in opposition to it, the prescription of myriads of centuries. There is no period in which exertions to raise it from oppression, would not be rewarded with that sense of innate dignity, with that glory and honour, which the uncorrupted part of mankind delight to bestow on public virtue. The freedom of their country has been a darling object to Britons; no nation in Europe, or of the most remote antiquity, is more conspicuously distinguished by an aversion to tyranny. Continuing under the influence of this generous principle, let them suppose that they had exchanged situations with Irishmen, and consider how they would have been affected, by a treatment similar to that which we have experienced from them. Let them suppose that we had restrained their commerce, that after numberless acts of violence to their constitution, our parliament had deprived their peers of their privilege of appellat jurisdiction, and declared themselves vested with a right to control their legislature, and to bind them by their laws in all cases whatever; would they not have reprobated such assumed, such tyrannical authority, and thought it their indispensable duty to wrest it from us, by all the methods in their power?

HAD Henry the Fifth lived to compleat the conquest of France, it is highly probable he would have removed thither the seat of empire. In that case, would the British legislature have been pleased had the parliament of Paris assumed a power of controuling their determinations?

IRELAND has merited better treatment than she has received from her sister country. Her favourites have been pensioned with thousands from the fruits of our labours. She has been enriched by our commerce

commerce and our manufactures. From their estates in this kingdom, amounting in value to nearly one third of the rents of the whole, wealth has been derived to her nobility and gentry. Oppression has not extinguished our good will. We have rejoiced in her prosperity and glory. We have contributed to her fame. By recruits from Ireland her fleets and her armies have been assisted, in gaining the laurels she has won in every quarter of the globe.

Will you pardon, my dear friend, this long digression? The branch of our subject which led to it is deeply interesting. I have deviated from the strict rules of narration, on every occasion when necessary to enlarge our views, with respect to our privileges as Irishmen, and to attach us more warmly to our country.

Adieu.

L E T T E R LXX.

AN infamous job disturbed the peace of Ireland, in the year seventeen hundred and twenty four. Commercial transactions cannot be carried on without a medium of exchange. Money which has been made use of for this purpose must be of a different value, to represent fully the various kinds of property which are to be transferred. The quantity of it also, in every country must be proportional to it's internal commerce, and to that in which it is engaged with foreigners. Many years had passed since there was a coinage of halfpence and farthings for Ireland. In consequence they became scarce. The deficiency was found to be attended with much inconvenience. To remove it, we applied to England for leave to coin them as usual. This privilege denied

nied to the repeated solicitations of the Irish nation, was by false representations obtained clandestinely by William Wood, an Englishman and a very inconsiderable individual. To this man his Majesty granted a patent to coin copper halfpence and farthings, for the use of Ireland, to the amount of a hundred and eight thousand pounds. Such an indignity would probably have been submitted to with little opposition, had he executed his trust with fidelity. But it was the intention of Wood to cheat the nation, for his own private emolument. He made his halfpence of such base metal, and so small, that a shilling of them was scarcely worth a penny.

Of these large quantities were sent over to this country. Brass money multiplied beyond all proportion. It was not only used in change, but accounts in general were likely to be paid in it. This danger, so threatening to the interest of the public, with the first intimation of it, roused the spirit of the nation. They perceived that the diminution of property, in proportion to the quantity of this coin which should be received, and the alloy of baser metal with which it was adulterated, must be the inevitable consequences. They foresaw, that Wood might coin, and send over without detection, any sum beyond that to which he was limited by his patent. It was likewise evident, that whilst his halfpence were permitted to circulate, the Dutch and other foreigners might pour in counterfeit copper, to any amount. Men of all ranks and of every denomination, with united efforts, laboured to remedy an evil which began already to be sensibly felt.

THE Irish parliament, in an address to the King, told him that they were called upon by their country

try, to represent the ill consequences to the kingdom likely result from Wood's patent; that the diminution of the revenue and the ruin of trade was the prospect which it presented to view. An application of the privy council to his Majesty spoke the same language. He was likewise addressed upon the subject by most of the city corporations. The grand jury of the county of Dublin presented all persons, who would attempt to impose upon the people of Ireland the base coin, as enemies to government, and to the safety, peace and welfare of his Majesty's subjects. At the quarter sessions, the country gentlemen declared against it almost unanimously. It was no wonder that an attempt to serve an individual, a foreigner, a man destitute of principle, to the ruin of thousands of individuals, and the injury of the community, should excite general indignation.

WOOD, instead of relinquishing a scheme, the baseness of which now appeared in a glaring point of view, used every means to support it. By the influence of his friends the English privy council published a report in his favour, in which, for opposing his patent, they cast severe aspersions on the Irish parliament. He employed emissaries to purchase privately the halfpence of the old coin, which were in the kingdom, to encrease the scarcity, and to remove the objections against the circulation of his own. But his efforts were vain. After the minds of the people had been agitated a year, by this disagreeable affair, the King revoked the patent, by which the base money was entirely stripped of it's nominal value, and the nation restored to it's former tranquillity.

THE want of a mint, for which we have applied in vain, was the sole cause of this public disturbance,

bance, so productive of anxiety to numbers, and so prejudicial to our commerce. Formerly, a mint was established in the Isle of Man. The petty states of the German Empire have a power of coining money; Ireland, an independent kingdom has for centuries been deprived of this privilege. May we not hope to see it restored to us? It would raise a handsome revenue, be a saving to the nation, and contribute to our dignity.

OF those who opposed the iniquitous imposition of Wood's base money, Dean Swift was particularly distinguished. His *Drapiers Letters*, in which, with so much knowledge of the subject, with so much force and perspicuity, he pointed out the nature and the consequences of this pernicious design, and the methods of rendering it ineffectual, were of singular use. His country still gratefully acknowledges this noble effort of his patriotism. He was in danger of suffering deeply in the cause. An argument advanced by the people of this country in opposition to the patent and which he himself particularly explained, was, that brass money being illegal, could not be forced upon us by the King, without exceeding the limits of his prerogative. The partizans of Wood took occasion, from hence, to charge us with a design of casting off our dependence on England. Swift examined the accusation with freedom, pointed out the encroachments made by the English parliament on our legislative rights, and asserted that any dependence on England, except that of being subjects of the same king, was contrary to the law of reason, of nature, of nations, and to the law of the land. In those days of servitude, Irishmen had not even the privilege to complain. For the author of the letter which contained these spirited incontrovertible truths, government offered a reward of

three hundred pounds. However, not an individual could be found so base as to prostitute his conscience and to dishonor his country, for the sake of this inglorious bribe. He remained undiscovered. The printer was then prosecuted. Here likewise the tyranny of government was disappointed of it's aim. He was acquitted by the unanimous voice of the jury.

THAT the system of Irish government, at this period, was most hostile to our rights appears, in a striking light, from Primate Boulter's letters, who himself bore the office of lord justice in the year seventeen hundred and twenty six. A line of distinction was drawn betwixt the English and the Irish interest, and all the arts of political intrigue made use of to support the former in opposition to the latter. The most assiduous care was taken to fill all the great offices of state with Englishmen, lest if they were occupied by those of this country, opposition to the measures of ministry should be made in favour of our privileges. The high dignity and large emoluments which Boulter enjoyed in Ireland might have interested him in it's honor and prosperity. Instead of this, influenced by the prejudices which he brought over with him from Britain, and by the principles of a compleat courtier, he entered into and supported with warmth, the views of government most prejudicial to it. In general, the actions of men, in any of the departments of state, are wretchedly perverted. Ambition extinguishes in their hearts a regard to the rights of others. Insensible to the obligations of justice they pursue measures without remorse, destructive of the interest of thousands, even of a whole nation. In a private capacity, they would not injure a single individual or depart, intentionally, from the paths of rectitude
and

and honor. Of this, the conduct of Primate Boulter is a striking example. As a minister he paid little regard to the rights of the nation. In private life, by his benevolence, by generosity, by acts of charity and compassion, he was most amiably distinguished.

AFTER a reign of near thirteen years, George the First died on the eleventh of June seventeen hundred and twenty seven. He was easy and agreeable in his manners, wise, prudent and attentive to business. As a general, respectable. The merits of his government have been ascribed to himself, it's defects, to the corruption and false principles of his ministers.

Adieu.

L E T T E R LXXI.

INTELLIGENCE of the death of his Majesty arrived in England, the fourteenth of June. On the following day, the Prince of Wales, then in the forty fourth year of his age, ^{1727.} proclaimed king by the title of George the Second. His accession to the throne was intimated to the Irish parliament by Lord Carteret who had been continued viceroy from the year seventeen hundred and twenty five. In their address to his Majesty, the commons condole with him on the death of his father, congratulate him on being peaceably raised to the crown of his ancestors and assure him of their inviolable attachment to his person, family and government. Agreeably to these professions of duty and respect, they voted cheerfully the necessary supplies. Mutual expressions of affection, betwixt the King and his people, and grateful acknowledgments to the viceroy

for his wife and faithful administration, closed the session.

THAT our freeholders and freemen should be exempted from all undue influence in their choice of representatives is indispensably necessary to the security of our privileges. To prevent the interference of the Lords in this respect, the commons resolved, that it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the commons, for any lord of parliament to concern himself in the election of members to serve for the commons in parliament. That no peer of this realm hath right to vote as mayor, sovereign, portrieve, burgomaster, alderman, burghers, freeholder or freeman, in the election of any person to serve as a member of parliament. That no lord of parliament or peer of this realm, hath any right to act as a magistrate in making any return of a member or members to serve in parliament. That this house will admit of no person that shall be returned by any lord of parliament or peer of this realm to sit as a member of this house. In England, almost every bill presented to his Majesty by his parliament of that kingdom receives the royal assent. It is the misfortune of our bills to be very frequently rejected. At the close of the session which met in seventeen hundred and twenty eight, our parliament expressed their sense of his Majesty's favour in returning all the bills prepared to be passed into laws; to which they add these remarkable words, "a happiness peculiar to this session." So that in every former session the commons had the mortification to find that some of their bills were rejected.

In the subsequent session, it was found that a money bill sent over to England and transmitted, had, in several respects, been altered. This was a liberty which the commons would never permit to be taken

taken with their money bills. If they were not returned as they originally stood, they were rejected. On the present occasion, the parliament most shamefully relinquished their privileges. The bill passed by the voice of a large majority. A law was enacted for encouraging tillage, much to the advantage of the poor, to the improvement of the kingdom and encrease of it's commerce. His Majesty remitted the hereditary duties upon the exportation to England of wool and yarn, which tended to make the effects of it much more beneficial and extensive.

LORD Carteret continued to govern Ireland until the year seventeen hundred and thirty one. Though he was now only in the early part of life, he was a man of knowledge, a fine scholar and an able politician. By his attention to the interest of the kingdom and a faithful discharge of his duty he acquired much dignity and reputation. He was succeeded by the Duke of Dorset. In the first session of parliament held after his appointment to the government, a question of considerable importance was determined in favour of the people.

WHEN, in the year seventeen hundred and fifteen, apprehensions were entertained of a design upon this kingdom having been formed by the friends of the Pretender, the house of commons passed a vote of credit to government, to a considerable amount. This laid the foundation of our national debt, which, in a few years, encreased to upwards of two hundred thousand pounds. For discharging the interest and the principal, a fund was provided by the commons. During the late administration, the friends of government moved in the house, that this fund should be granted to his Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, redeemable by parliament. The

patriots insisted and carried their point, that it was unconstitutional and inconsistent with the public safety to grant it for a longer term than from session to session.

AN attempt was now made to vest it in the crown for twenty one years. When the affair came to be agitated the strength of the ministerialists and of the country party was exactly equal; but immediately previous to the vote, Colonel Tottingham, who had ridden post on the occasion, arrived in town, hastened to the house and by his voice determined the question against government. His zeal in this instance, for the public good, was long remembered by his country with particular expressions of gratitude.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LXXII.

SEVERAL years, subsequent to the administration of the Duke of Dorset, afford nothing worthy of notice in the history of this country.

In the year seventeen hundred and forty five these nations were alarmed by an attempt of Charles Edward, son of the old Pretender the Chevalier Saint George, to expel the reigning family from the throne. The knowledge that there were many in Britain and Ireland still attached to the interest of his house, who, he hoped, would embrace the first opportunity of crowding to his standard, encouragement from certain of his partizans, whose temerity or indigence prompted them to inspire him with hopes, the idea of meeting with ineffectual opposition from the English government at present engaged in an arduous war with France and Spain, prompted him to engage in this ill concerted, dangerous

gerous undertaking. Accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, by Sir Thomas Sheridan and a small number of followers who had attached themselves to his fortunes, he embarked on board a frigate and landed on the coast of Lochaber. Stimulated to rebellion by intelligence of this, the highland chiefs roused their vassals to arms, and in a short time, placed the young adventurer at the head of fifteen hundred men. Having published manifestoes, to encrease the number of his partizans, he advanced to Perth where his father the old Chevalier was proclaimed king. The same empty ceremony was performed at Edinburgh. The town received him and submitted to his authority, but the castle retained it's loyalty. His efforts to reduce it by force were ineffectual. By this time, his forces had considerably encreased. The favourable issue of the battle of Preston Pans, in which he overthrew Sir John Cope, cutting off five hundred of his men, besides those he took prisoners, inspired his friends with confidence and added to their number. The minds of the people were struck with consternation by this unexpected misfortune. Had the Pretender taken advantage of his success and led his army immediately to England, it is perhaps difficult to say what would have been the consequence. Instead of this, he loitered at Edinburgh, gratifying himself with the insignificant title and the parade of majesty, and so gave the state a full opportunity of taking effectual measures for opposing his future progress. It was vigorously improved.

AFTER some time, Charles advanced with his troops to England, which he entered by the western border, took Carlisle, and proceeded through Lancaster and Preston until he came to Manchester. Having here established his head quarters, he marched forward

ward by Derby until he came within a hundred miles of the capital. There, spirited associations were formed to oppose his progress; at the head of whom and of the regular troops the King determined to take the field in person. The young adventurer not thinking it expedient to face the danger to which he now found himself exposed, turned and retreated to Scotland. Stirling castle commanded by General Blakeney had retained its loyalty to his Majesty. Here Charles led his army, reinforced by some troops which were assembled during his absence. His efforts to reduce it were ineffectual.

By this time, General Hawley with a considerable body of the King's forces had advanced near Falkirk, where he was attacked by the rebels, to whom, after a feeble resistance he left the field of battle, with part of his artillery and tent equipage. His scattered forces retired to Edinburgh, where shortly after, the Duke of Cumberland arrived from Flanders and placed himself at the head of the English army. The forces which he had collected amounted to about fourteen thousand. Undismayed by the unfortunate issue of the battle of Falkirk, he pressed forward to engage the Pretender. Charles retired at his approach, and did not stop until he reached the plain of Culloden, about nine miles distant from Inverness. Here he drew up his army, consisting of eighteen thousand men, determined to risk all his hopes upon one decisive battle.

It began about one o'clock on the sixteenth of April seventeen hundred and forty six. Superiority of numbers on the side of the rebel army by no means rendered them a match for that commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, which quite excelled them in
point

point of discipline. After a short conflict they were entirely routed. Great numbers were slain in the field of battle and in the pursuit. The victory was compleat, but it would have been much more honourable to the conquerors had they not stained the glory of it by destroying the enemy with an impetuous rage which refused to be restrained by the feelings of humanity. With this defeat, perished utterly all the expectations of the unfortunate Charles, in respect to the British throne.

DURING these transactions, in which this country, in common with the rest of the empire, was deeply interested, Lord Chesterfield governed Ireland with distinguished reputation. He met the parliament in October of the preceding year. His speech which was full of affection, and delivered with the most graceful elocution inspired the lords and commons with confidence in the rectitude of his intentions and excited their admiration. Neither they nor the nation were disappointed in their expectations.

THE military force then in the kingdom was not considerable. As such a number of his Majesty's British subjects were in a state of actual rebellion, this circumstance alarmed the apprehensions of those whose fears magnified the danger of an intestine insurrection. Lord Chesterfield was advised to encrease the army, by an addition of four thousand men. Instead of this, he sent four battalions to the assistance of the Duke of Cumberland, and encouraged the volunteer associations which formed in different parts of the kingdom for the defence of their country. These battalions he replaced by additional companies to the regiments already on the establishment. This saved a considerable expence to the nation and did not encrease the influence of the crown.

crown. Had he, like too many of our chief governors, preferred court favour to the welfare and to the rights of the kingdom, he would, on this occasion, have raised new regiments.

It has been mentioned that in the year seventeen hundred and fifteen, when the rebellion that broke out in Scotland was not by any means as alarming as the present, a sum was voted to government by our parliament so far beyond our ability to discharge as to lay the foundation of our national debt. The supply asked by Lord Chesterfield was small. He raised it in the manner most easy and agreeable to the people, and expended it with œconomy. There was even a saving which he applied to the public benefit. To purchase the aid of friends in support of their measures, it was a common practice with our lord lieutenants to bestow reversionary grants. Convinced that this practice was prejudicial to the interest of the nation, he gave no such grants. In his administration, the deserving received their merited reward, the weak were protected, and the oppressive insolence of the haughty and overbearing restrained.

BUT no part of his conduct was more amiable and worthy of esteem than his treatment of the Roman Catholics. Before his arrival, those in power, from a suspicion of their sentiments and designs, had shut up their chapels in Dublin. Their priests were commanded to leave the kingdom by proclamation. Such as disobeyed were cast into prison and threatened with greater punishment. These severities were offensive to Lord Chesterfield. His system of policy was not founded in partial views of human nature, or in those contracted sentiments suggested by religious bigotry. It received no tincture from the violence of a party spirit by which
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the judgment is perverted and restraints imposed on the kind impulses of humanity. Convinced that harsh treatment alienates the heart, but that gentle usage inspires confidence and gains the affections, he permitted to the Roman Catholics the free undisturbed exercise of their religion. To accusations to their prejudice resulting from dislike and supported by no better evidence than mere suspicion, he paid no regard. Rumours of plots and insurrections designed by them, were listened to by him with calm indifference. A little time employed in investigating the cause traced it out to a disturbed imagination, which created dangers to the state where none existed. Gratitude for the confidence reposed in them by government, and for the benevolent indulgence with which they were treated was an additional motive to the Catholics, besides those arising from a regard to their own interest, to avoid all combinations in favour of the Pretender and to behave in the same peaceable manner in which they had conducted themselves, during the rebellion in seventeen hundred and fifteen. Protestant and Papist, whig and tory, those of opposite political principles and of every religious denomination, united in admiring the wisdom and the public virtues of this excellent viceroy, and cheerfully contributed their efforts to render his government easy and agreeable. In parliament, business went smoothly forwards. No external enemy disturbed the public peace, nor, through the whole of his administration, did the least internal commotion, interrupt the national tranquillity. When entering upon office, our chief governors, in general, render themselves the objects of popular favour, but they are too apt, by changing their mode of conduct, to lose the good opinion
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of the public and to become the objects of jealousy and dissatisfaction.

FROM the day that Lord Chesterfield took upon him the reins of government, he was equally confided in loved and admired to that on which he embarked for England, followed by the regret, by the prayers and good wishes of a croud of attending spectators. He left Ireland in Spring seventeen hundred and forty six. To perpetuate his virtues and the gratitude of the nation his bust was placed in the castle of Dublin, at the public expence. How happy for Ireland would it be did the same regard for her interest, the same patriotism, and the same generous enlarged principles of government, dignify the character of all her viceroys.

Adieu.

L E T T E R LXXIII.

NOTHING conducive to the interest of the nation had escaped the notice of Lord Chesterfield. Some laws were wanting, which he conceived would be of general utility. He desired the public attention to be directed to the consideration of these during his absence, that they might be enacted on his return to Ireland. But in this, his kind designs, and the fervent wishes of the friends of this country were disappointed. He did not return.

THE kingdom was governed by lords justices, until the thirteenth of September seventeen hundred and forty six, when William Earl of Harrington arrived at Dublin, vested with the powers of lord lieutenant. The death of Sir James Sommerville the following year, and of Alderman Pearson, representatives for the city, gave occasion to a remarkable contest for members to succeed them, and called
forth

forth to public view a character conspicuously distinguished. Strong natural powers, especially when excited to action by public spirit, have rendered men eminent, though unaccompanied by the advantages of a liberal education, by riches, station, and the influence of powerful connexions. Of this Charles Lucas exhibited a striking example. Some years before, this extraordinary man, having attracted the notice of his fellow citizens, was admitted to the common council. Here he resolved to exert himself in behalf of their privileges. The new rules, framed in the reign of Charles the Second, by authority derived from a clause in the act of explanation, had, as in other corporate towns, changed the powers of the city corporation. To encrease the influence of the crown, among other innovations, they deprived the commons of the power of choosing the city magistrates, and placed it in the board of aldermen, subject in it's exercise on each election to the approbation of the chief governor and privy council. Of this injury Lucas loudly complained. But the law being absolute, could not be controled. Suspecting however, that in other respects encroachments had been made on the rights of the citizens, not justified by law, he examined the city charters, and searched diligently into ancient records, by which he was convinced that his apprehensions were well founded. He published his discoveries, explained the evidence resulting from them, and encouraged the people to take the proper steps for obtaining redress. In consequence, a warm contest commenced betwixt the commons and aldermen in seventeen hundred and forty one, which continued the two succeeding years.

THOUGH the former struggled in vain to recover their lost privileges, the exertions of Lucas in every stage

stage of the dispute, were strenuous and persevering. These services rendered him so respectable, and raised him so high in the esteem and confidence of his fellow citizens, that on the death of Sir James Sommerville, they encouraged him to declare himself a candidate to represent them in parliament. Ambitious of an office so flattering, which would give him an opportunity of exerting his abilities to the greatest advantage in the service, not only of the city of Dublin, but of his country, he complied with their desire. His speeches to the several corporations on this occasion, which were bold, nervous and animated, in favour of liberty, encreased their attachment to him. But a number of addresses to his fellow citizens, which he wrote and published, still, in a higher degree, encreased his popularity. In these, among other subjects, he considered distinctly the several branches of the constitution, pointed out to the electors of Dublin, and to the nation, the privileges of Irishmen, and the various injuries they had sustained by the usurped interference of the British legislature. The bold truths which he unfolded, and the unreserved severity of his strictures alarmed government. They determined to crush him by the hand of power, unable to withstand his spirited efforts in behalf of his country by reason and argument. For this purpose, certain passages, the most expressive of our grievances, and, for that reason, most obnoxious to the state, were collected from his publications, and made the foundation of a charge which was brought against him before parliament. The rights of the commons, which with particular attention he laboured to vindicate and ascertain, had been one of the subjects of his free discussion. Instead of protecting him, in reward of this service and of his exertions in behalf of the liberties
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of Ireland, the commons, obedient to an authority hostile to their dignity and to the interest of their constituents, listened to the charge, voted him an enemy to his country, and addressed the lord lieutenant to order him to be prosecuted by his majesty's attorney general. As the cause of Lucas was that of liberty and the constitution, every freeman in the kingdom was interested in his safety. But the favour of the public was not sufficient to defend him from the danger by which he was threatened. To avoid the impending storm, he fled from Ireland. Fortune, which now deserted this oppressed patriot, after he had spent some time in banishment, placed him in a most honourable point of view. The exertions of his friends rose superior to the influence by which he was persecuted. Upon a new vacancy, he returned to Dublin, and was elected one of the representatives for the city. The same virtuous principles, and the same exertions in behalf of our constitutional rights, for which he had been hitherto remarkable, invariably distinguished his conduct in parliament. Proof against the alluring seducements of venality, he preserved his integrity unsullied, and as he had lived, died with the character of the incorruptible Lucas.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LXXIV.

I AM now to give you an account of the memorable contest betwixt government and the Irish parliament, relative to previous consent, by which the kingdom was so much agitated in the year seventeen hundred and fifty three.

As the representatives of the people impose the taxes requisite for defraying the expences of the state,

state, it is their indispenfible duty, as it is their inherent right, to fuperintend their expenfiture. This right they uniformly exercifed, more efpecially from the time that the feveral branches of the hereditary revenue were eftablifhed, when the intereft of the nation required that the application of them fhould be the object of their particular attention. By the journals of the commons it appears, that from their meeting, in fixteen hundred and ninety two, it was their conftant practice to call for and to examine the public accounts. If there was a deficiency, they provided for it, chaftifing the officers of the crown, if it appeared to be owing to their negligence or difhonefty. If money remained in the treafury, after the purpofes were ferved for which it had been granted, they applied it to the credit of the nation, and proceeded to difpofe of it, by bill, for the public advantage. This they did, not as a matter of favour or of courtefy, but by authority refulting plainly and neceffarily from the truft repofed in them by their conftituents. The commons did not once conceive that previous to the introducing of fuch bills, permiffion from the crown was neceffary, nor did his Majefty, in a fingle inftance, intimate that this was an encroachment upon his prerogative. If he faw reafon for it, he might reject them; this was fufficient power, indeed all that was vefted in him by the conftitution. In the fame train in which this matter had proceeded for at leaft, near a century, it continued in feventeen hundred and forty nine. From a larger importation than ufual of foreign luxuries, a confiderable fum, after the demands of government were answered, remained then in the treafury. This being reported by the committee of accounts, the houfe framed a bill in the ufual manner, for applying a competent part of it
towards

towards the payment of the national debt. It was sent to England, returned without any alteration, and, without the least notice being taken of there being any thing in relation to it offensive to the King or his ministry, passed into a law. But the sagacious policy of some of those discerning courtiers who make no scruple to sacrifice the peace and the welfare of society to their own avarice or ambition, discovered a pretended right in the crown which it determined to enforce.

LIONEL Duke of Dorset succeeded the Earl of Harrington, as lord lieutenant, in seventeen hundred and fifty one. In his speech from the throne, on opening the session, he declared to the house of commons, "That he was commanded by the King to acquaint them that his Majesty ever attentive to the ease and happiness of his subjects, would graciously consent and recommend it to them that such part of the money, then remaining in his treasury, as should be thought consistent with the public service, be applied towards the farther reduction of the national debt." If, as was here directly implied, the previous consent of the King was necessary to authorize the commons to dispose of or to point out by bill the uses to which the surplus of the public money ought to be applied, their power over it, in the first instance, no longer existed. Then his Majesty had an exclusive property in it and might, as an act of favour, permit the parliament to interfere with respect to it, or, without their concurrence, dispose of it at pleasure. To this illegal, unprecedented claim, the commons, in their address, paid no regard. Though the principle assumed by government was perfectly obvious, convinced that it was an encroachment on the constitution, the officers of the crown made no efforts in compliance

with it. In the heads of the bill which, as usual, they framed and brought into the house of commons, respecting the surplus in the treasury, no more notice was taken of previous consent, than in the preceding and former sessions.

It passed the commons and privy council. Of their sentiments with respect to the point in question, this was incontrovertible evidence. Notwithstanding, in England, the word consent was inserted in the bill. Thus altered, it was returned to Ireland. From the laudable spirit which the commons had discovered in the first stage of this business, it was natural to conclude that they would persevere with determined firmness in opposing so palpable an attempt of the crown to encroach upon their rights. But, though it was well known that many of the members were much dissatisfied on the occasion, it passed the house unanimously and received the royal assent. Such is the history of this celebrated question, until the present year seventeen hundred and fifty three.

GOVERNMENT had now got possession of a precedent which they determined should regulate their conduct with respect to their future claims. The speech of the Duke of Dorset to parliament relative to previous consent, was conceived in terms exactly the same with that of the preceding session. In consequence of the continued encrease of imports, as in the former years, a large balance in favour of the nation remained in the treasury. It was more than sufficient to pay off the whole of the national debt. From the same views of public advantage by which they had been influenced in seventeen hundred and forty nine and in seventeen hundred and fifty one, the commons thought it most expedient to apply an adequate part of it to this purpose.

The

The heads of a bill were accordingly brought into the house. But neither in them or in the bill framed upon these heads and transmitted to Britain was there any recital of his Majesty's previous consent. It was sent back with the same material alteration as that which had been made in the bill of the former session. Convinced of the impropriety of their conduct upon that occasion, the commons now resolved to act a becoming part. When the bill was read in the house a warm and spirited debate took place, at the conclusion of which, to the joy of all uninfluenced by court favour, attached to the public welfare and interested in the preservation of the essential privileges of parliament, it was rejected. On this occasion, government shewed the greatest solicitude to defend their cause and to remove the odium that was cast on the measures which they had laboured so strenuously to accomplish. Pamphlets were written in it's justification and dispersed with uncommon pains through different parts of the kingdom. The writers, on the court side of the question, attempted to support it on different grounds. Some of them asserted that the King by common law had five thousand pounds yearly and that if the smallest part of this was mixed with the public money redundant in the treasury, he had a dominion over the whole. Others said that the title of the crown was as that of a partner. The position of those of a third class was, that the whole revenue was the absolute uncontrollable property of the crown, whose power over it was unlimited. Those were of a different opinion who asserted, that the trust and the power of applying the money given by parliament, without any especial appropriation, is by the laws and constitution of this kingdom, vested in the crown for public services.

This last was the only ground of defence that merited the attention of those of the opposite party, whose pens were not permitted to lie dormant at this juncture. They readily admitted that the King, with respect to the public money, was a trustee for the nation, but for this very reason asserted that when any sum remained, after the necessary demands on government were satisfied, to which it had been appropriated, he had no power over it, in the first instance. They pleaded that it reverted to the people from whom the trust was derived, who ought, by their representatives, to point out the purposes which it might best serve and apply it to them in the manner most conducive to the general advantage. They pleaded that if his Majesty, not satisfied with the privilege of assenting to such bills as might be transmitted for the disposal of it, had, previously, such a power over it that it could not be disposed of without his consent, it could not be considered as belonging to the public, but was his private property. They pleaded that this claim of the crown, as has been observed, was new, that for a long series of years there was not a single precedent in favour of it, except that of the year seventeen hundred and fifty one. It was farther observed by the writers on this side, that the force of the nation was concentrated in the national purse, which, if permitted to be wrested from it by prerogative, might, in the hands of a wicked minister, be directed to the ruin of the constitution. The strength of these arguments made a deep impression on the minds of the people who were in general more sensible of the danger from which they had escaped, and more warmly agitated than they had been by any political question that had engaged the attention of parliament, since the revolution. I am sorry to add that the satisfaction

tisfaction they felt upon this occasion was soon interrupted by a most disagreeable allay. His Majesty by his letter took the money out of the treasury which had been the subject of dispute. This exertion of prerogative gave occasion to reflexions respecting the influence of the crown too obvious to be mentioned.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LXXV.

IN seventeen hundred and fifty five, the Duke of Dorset was succeeded, as our chief governor, by the Marquis of Harrington. The following year the commons, in a committee of the whole house, took into consideration the heads of a bill to secure the freedom of parliament, by vacating the seats of such members as should accept of any pension or civil office of profit from the crown. Upon a division, but fifty nine appeared in support of a question, the determination of which in the affirmative, would have had a most powerful tendency to check the influence of venality, become of late years so shamefully prevalent among the commons, and to preserve the rights of the constitution. Men to whose honor and integrity the welfare, the freedom, the dearest privileges of a nation are committed, should never be placed within the reach of seducements which tempt them to prefer their own interest to that of their constituents. Motives of private advantage give a false colouring to objects, and warp the understanding. When exposed to their influence, a dependence on the conduct of even the virtuous is insecure.

DURING the administration of the Duke of Bedford, who was lord lieutenant in seventeen hundred

tain Duff who had for some time been cruising from Port L'Orient in Bretagne to the point of Saint Gilles in Poitou. In the neighbourhood of Belleisle, the van of the English engaged the rear of the enemy, about two o'clock in the forenoon. Happy for Britain and to the unspeakable advantage of this country, Providence favoured the English fleet with a compleat victory.

IN October, the squadron designed for the North of Ireland had sailed from Dunkirk. It consisted originally of five ships; one of forty eight, two of thirty six, and two of twenty four guns each, and carried a thousand two hundred and seventy land forces.

THE reputation acquired by M. Thurot, as captain of a privateer, raised him to the command of the naval department employed in this expedition. Adverse and tempestuous winds drove the squadron to Gottenburgh. Having continued here a few days, they set sail and proceeded to the place of destination. Upon arriving on the coast of Ireland, they were overtaken by a storm, to escape which, they attempted to shelter themselves in Lough Foyle, but the wind changed and continuing to blow tempestuously, obliged them to keep the sea. Two of the ships were separated from the rest by the violence of the storm and returned to France. The remaining three directed their course to the Island of Ilay where they anchored, repaired some damages they had sustained, took in a small quantity of fresh provisions, and, to procure a supply more adequate to their necessities, sailed for Carrickfergus. They arrived here on the twenty first of February, and, about two miles from the town, landed their forces now reduced to six hundred men.

MEAN

MEAN while, an officer belonging to the small number of troops of which the garrison consisted advanced with a reconnoitring party and took post on a rising ground to observe the motions of the enemy. Having made the best disposition of his men which the time and circumstances would permit and ordered them to make every effort to retard the approaches of the French, he returned to communicate the necessary information to the commanding officer. The troops were on parade, from whom detachments were sent to defend the gates and all the avenues leading to the town. A number of French prisoners, then in Carrickfergus, were sent off to Belfast with all possible expedition. By this time, the fire had begun betwixt the reconnoitring party and the enemy which killed several of them and wounded in the knee Brigadier General Flobert their commanding officer. This accident threw them into confusion and for some time retarded their approach. The reconnoitring party having expended their powder and ball were forced to retreat to the garrison, which, having attempted in vain to prevent the enemy from entering the town, shut themselves up within the castle. Though they were not, in any respect, prepared for such an attack, a number of them being quite undisciplined and there being a breach in the wall fifty feet long, they defended themselves with spirit until their ammunition was expended. They were now obliged to capitulate. It is supposed that previous to the surrender of the castle a hundred of the French were killed, among whom were four officers one of them a person of distinction much regretted for his courage and amiable qualities. Of the garrison, not more than three lost their lives.

WHEN

WHEN intelligence of the landing of the enemy reached different parts of the country, volunteer companies flocked to Belfast from all quarters. By the willingness which they discovered to risque their lives in the service of their country they acquired much honor, but they were strangers to discipline, and numbers of them unprovided with arms. Had they proceeded to attack the enemy, as was proposed by some, many would have been sacrificed, and the probability of success was much against them. However, the French were alarmed and would have left Carrickfergus without delay, had they not been detained by unfavourable winds. Having plundered the town, they reembarked on Tuesday the twenty sixth of February. To avoid the imminent danger to which they were exposed from the English ships of war, they wished to return by the North of Ireland, but the wind was adverse and compelled them to attempt a passage through the channel. Very soon, their hopes of escaping vanished. The day on which they reembarked, Captain Elliot of his Majesty's ship Eolus of thirty two guns, received information from government of the arrival of the French at Carrickfergus. Taking with him the Pallas and Brilliant, each of them of the same force with respect to guns, he set sail in quest of the enemy. The twenty eighth he discovered them, gave chase and came up with them near the Isle of Man. Having engaged them about an hour and a half, they struck, being much injured in their masts and rigging and three hundred of their men killed. Thurot lost his life in the battle. Equally distinguished by courage, by justice and a benevolent temper he was very much regretted.

In the midst of a series of victories, which in different parts of the globe crowned his arms with
splendid

splendid laurels, George the Second died at Kensington on the twenty fifth day of October, in the seventy seventh year of his age and thirty third of his reign. He was a prince of moderate abilities. His temper was sudden and violent. In his general conduct he was guided by honesty of intention. To his ministers he discovered a strong attachment. His British subjects complained much that he left them more frequently than was consistent with the welfare of the state, and that he had too warm a predilection in favour of his German dominions.

Farewell.

LETTER LXXVII.

UPON the demise of George the Second, his present Majesty, son of the late Prince of Wales, ascended the throne. His speech to parliament on opening the session excited in those of every rank the warmest glow of approbation. "Born," says he, "and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to adhere to and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state, and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown: and as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of

of

of true religion and virtue." Such sentiments reflect honor upon a crown, which the highest elevation of power, and the most magnificent splendors of external parade cannot bestow.

IN seventeen hundred and sixty one, the Earl of Halifax was appointed to the government of Ireland. It was in his administration that the Southern parts of the kingdom were first disturbed by the rising of the White Boys. As those concerned in it were Roman Catholics, it occasioned for some time a serious and a general alarm. Deep rooted prejudice and former jealousies, ready to be awakened by any circumstance which could bear an unfavourable construction, produced in the minds of Protestants the usual effect. Though those of the better sort, from whom danger only could be apprehended, were not concerned in these disturbances, it was believed that, under a pretence of remedying public grievances, a deep laid plot was formed against the state. French and Spanish emissaries, it was said, had been sent over to Ireland, and were actually employed to assist by bribes and by their personal exertions in carrying it into execution. These were absurd and groundless suspicions. With respect to the real cause and object of this commotion; about the year seventeen hundred and thirty nine, the murrain broke out amongst the horned cattle in the Dutchy of Holstein. It soon spread through the other parts of Germany. Holland caught the infection, from which it passed over to England, where, for a number of years, it raged with uncommon mortality.

EDUCATED in the principles of religious liberty, and a friend to universal toleration, George the First mitigated the execution of the penal laws against Popery enacted in the preceding reign.

George

George the Second followed his example. This encouraged the natives of the South of Ireland to turn their thoughts to agriculture. The lands were in general occupied by those who cultivated them. Villages and hamlets covered the face of the country, provisions were cheap, and the poor able to procure for themselves, with some comfort, the necessaries of life. But, from the cause mentioned above, a foreign demand for butter and beef became uncommonly great. In proportion, those articles rose in value, until at last they grew to an immoderate price. Hence, ground appropriated to grazing was more valuable than that under tillage. Cottiers being tenants at will, were every where dispossessed of their little holdings, which, in considerable tracts, were set by the landlords to monopolizers, who, by feeding cattle, were enabled to pay them a higher rent. In this manner, even whole baronies were laid open to pasturage. Pressed by want of subsistence, numbers of the poor fled to large cities or emigrated to foreign countries. Those who remained took small spots of land consisting of about an acre each, at an exorbitant price, which they laboured, to procure, if possible, the means of support for themselves and their miserable families. To lessen somewhat the burdens by which they were oppressed, some of their landlords granted them the liberty of commonage. The relief was but temporary, for some time after, in breach of justice and positive compact they were deprived of this privilege. Tythes and the small price given for labour, which, notwithstanding the increased price of necessaries, did not exceed the wages given in the days of Elizabeth, were circumstances which aggravated their distresses.

As the calamities of these unhappy creatures arose principally from the extravagant price of land, a
number

number of them, either ignorant or incapable of the proper mode of redress, had recourse to illegal expedients, to oblige the proprietors to set it on more reasonable terms. At night, covered with white shirts, they assembled in parties, and turned up the ground in different places. Bullocks, several of whom they destroyed, were particular objects of their resentment. Besides these, they levelled the enclosures of the commons, and committed various other acts of violence. As I have mentioned, an opinion immediately arose and was circulated, that this was the beginning of an insurrection against government. Numbers of the rioters were apprehended in the counties of Limerick, Cork and Tipperary. Judge Aston was sent to try them on a special commission, but not for high treason as several of the bills were intended. A few guilty of felony were condemned and executed. These wretched men, instead of being treated as objects of compassion, whom extreme misery had forced into this unwarrantable opposition to law, were prosecuted in some places with great severity. Aston did his duty, but in the discharge of it, would not violate the dictates of humanity. On his return from Dublin, he was witness to a sight most affecting and which he must have beheld with the highest satisfaction. For above ten miles from Clonmell, both sides of the road were lined with men, women and children, who, as he passed along, kneeled down and supplicated Heaven to bless him as their protector and guardian angel.

As their distress continued, the white boys persevered in their tumultuous proceedings. Many examples were made. The idea of rebellion was still kept up. Without the smallest foundation, gentlemen of the first rank were charged publicly with
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being abettors of it. Lord Dunboyne, Mr. Butler, and many other gentlemen of the county of Tipperary were obliged to set off post to Dublin, to enter bail, and protect themselves from injury.

THE Catholics of Waterford, in behalf of themselves and their brethren, presented a petition to Lord Hertford, who was chief governor in seventeen hundred and sixty five, in which, after declaring their peaceable demeanour and unshaken fidelity to the King and constitution, they point out very injurious treatment to which they were exposed, by false aspersions in respect to their connexion with the insurgents, and the loyalty of their principles, and entreat his Excellency to take them under his protection. Is it not very astonishing, that during the course of these disturbances, which continued until very lately, government neither set on foot an enquiry to investigate their cause, or took any pains to remove it? A gibbet will cut off a few individuals who disturb the peace of society. Of such evils as that above mentioned, it is but a temporary palliative. Men borne down by oppression, so long as their sufferings remain, can neither be contented with their state, or amenable to law.

Adieu.

L E T T E R LXXVIII.

TWO years subsequent to the breaking out of the commotion which was the subject of my last letter, part of the province of Ulster was disturbed by one of a similar kind, but which proceeded, in some respects, from a different cause, and was of much shorter duration.

To the improvement of every country and utility of the inhabitants, good roads are of essential advantage.

tage. But, in making them, justice requires that the trouble and expence should be divided in proportion to the circumstances of those who are to reap advantage from them. This equitable rule had not been duly observed by our legislature. By an act of parliament, the making and repairing high ways, in this country, was formerly a heavy burden on those of the lower stations. A house keeper who had no horse was obliged to work at them six days in the year. If he had a horse, the labour of both, for an equal time, was required by law. Besides this oppression, the poor complained that they were frequently compelled to work at roads made for the convenience of individuals, which were of no manner of advantage either to themselves or to the public.

GUIDED by an impulse which would not listen to the suggestions of reason, in seventeen hundred and sixty three, they had recourse to a method that pointed out, as they thought, immediate deliverance from these hardships. Having been particularly irritated by a road proposed to be made in a part of the county of Armagh, the inhabitants of a parish more immediately affected by it rose almost unanimously and declared they would make no more high ways of the kind. As a mark of distinction, they put oaken branches in their hats, from which they called themselves Oak Boys. Those particularly concerned in superintending new roads, and in repairing the old, were the first objects of their resentment; but very soon they turned their attention to other matters of complaint. The clergy, they alleged, exacted from them unreasonable tythes, the rent of their lands was more than they could bear. Besides, there were difficulties to which they were subject. As new grievances opened to view which they

they resolved to redress, the number of their partizans encreased. The infection was communicated from parish to parish until it spread to the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Derry and Fermanagh. In their progress, they exacted illegal oaths and committed other excesses such as might be expected from a populace under the influence of undirected passion and who had cast off all subordination to law. Parties of the military were collected from the other provinces, who, in a few weeks, dispersed the insurgents, and restored the public tranquillity. Happily not more than two or three lives were lost. Next session of parliament, the road act that had so justly been complained of as oppressive, was repealed, and a law enacted, according to which, roads, in future, were to be made and repaired by a tax to be equally assessed upon the lands of both poor and rich.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LXXIX.

FIVE succeeding years afford nothing in the history of this country which merits attention. The administration of Lord Townshend in seventeen hundred and sixty eight was distinguished by a material change in the constitution. In early times the parliament of Ireland continued but for a year. Having discharged the duties required of them during that period, our representatives delivered up their delegated power into the hands of their constituents to be disposed of by them in the manner most agreeable against the ensuing session. When we look forward to latter times we find the existence of our parliaments prolonged, from the beginning of each reign to the demise of the sovereign,

unless he chose to dissolve it by an exertion of prerogative: This must have been considered by the people as a flagrant violation of their rights. From them, their representatives derived their political character. The time of it's continuance, dependent on the will of the crown, was absolutely fixed. When expired, the authority with which they were invested ceased to exist. If retained longer, the legislative power, however supported by the pretended sanction of their own act, was not delegated; being derived from themselves contrary to the nature and to the original design of the trust, it was usurpation. The nation in reality had a number of self created lawgivers, not a single representative. This assumed power was not only, in the first instance, destructive of a radical principle of the constitution, but fraught in every point of view, with most pernicious consequences. From the moment of their election, the commons became almost wholly independent of the people. Temptations, enticing them from the paths of honor and integrity, multiplied. Self interest had a full opportunity of sacrificing the public welfare at the unhallowed shrine of venality and corruption.

GOVERNMENT availed itself of the advantage it had obtained and reduced to a system the methods of bribing the legislative body under the auspices of a baneful minister who directed the measures of administration in the reign of George the Second. You now behold a sight most disgraceful to the nation, ruinous to it's privileges and dishonourable to the character of individuals. Questions in parliament of the utmost consequence to the kingdom determined by a majority, purchased to sell their country by places, pensions and other pecuniary considerations.

VARIOUS

VARIOUS efforts were made to remedy this evil and to bring back the constitution more nearly to it's original principles. They had all been ineffectual, but, in the government of Lord Townshend, a bill was transmitted for limiting the duration of parliament to seven years; it was returned with the addition of a year. With this alteration it passed both houses and received the royal assent. From that time, our parliaments are to be octennial. This change must operate in behalf of the rights of the people. Still the legislature are very much within the reach of government and tempted to desert their duty by the arts of corruption.

In consequence of the passing of the octennial bill, the parliament was dissolved and a new one elected, which met in August of the following year.

This session, an infringement, of which they had frequently complained, and, almost in every instance, strenuously opposed, was attempted by government, upon the privileges of the commons. A money bill that did not originate with them was presented to the house. They rejected it with becoming spirit, after it had been once read. His Excellency was much dissatisfied and prorogued them repeatedly until February seventeen hundred and seventy one. This year the North of Ireland was disturbed by a new commotion of which I will give you an account in my next letter.

Adieu,

L E T T E R LXXX.

THE rising of the Steel Boys, as they were called, proceeded from the following cause. An absentee nobleman enjoys a large estate in the county of Antrim, which, about this time, was out

of lease. In place of an additional rent, he proposed to take fines from his tenants of an adequate value. Many of those who at present occupied the land were not in circumstances to comply with these terms. The fines were paid by others who insisted upon a rent from the immediate tenants, greater than they were able to pay. In consequence, a number of them were dispossessed. Being thus deprived of their habitations and of the means of subsistence, they became desperate, maimed their cattle and expressed the strongest resentment against those who were instrumental in reducing them to the state of distress in which they were involved.

ONE of the insurgents, charged with felony, was apprehended and carried to Belfast where he was confined in order to be transmitted to the county jail. Provoked by this treatment of their associate, the steel boys determined to interpose and save him by force from the punishment with which he was threatened. Their design was speedily known and approved by great numbers, who, to assist in the execution of it, assembled at the place of rendezvous. Provided with the offensive weapons they were able to procure, several thousands of them proceeded to Belfast, to rescue the prisoner.

WHEN intelligence of this reached the town, it being resolved not to give him up, he was removed to the barrack, and placed under the guard of a party of soldiers, who were quartered there. Shortly after, the steel boys arrived and pressed forward to the barrack, firmly determined to accomplish their design. As an evidence of this, some shots were actually exchanged betwixt them and the soldiers. The consequence, in all probability, would have been fatal to many on both sides and to the town, had not a physician of highly respectable character
and

and leading influence interposed, at the risque of his life, and prevailed with those concerned to set the prisoner at liberty. Being delivered up to his associates, they marched off in triumph. One house only experienced the effects of their resentment. Though many who were engaged in this enterprize returned home, and had afterwards no immediate connexion with the rioters, they still consisted of a considerable number. It daily encreased, until the same spirit extended to the neighbouring counties. Grievances, pretty much the same with those which had enflamed the oak boys to insurrection were now the subjects of their complaint, and the objects of their pretended redress. Their excesses were likewise in some measure the same, but much more violent. Besides the oaths which they exacted, and other lesser injuries sustained by individuals, they destroyed houses, and in some instances, were guilty of flagrant acts of inhumanity. Some of them were taken and tried at Carrickfergus, but whether from want of evidence, from fear of incurring the resentment of the populace, or from partiality in the witnesses and the jury, they were acquitted. On this account, the legislature interfered and passed an act, by which all persons indicted of such offences were ordered to be tried in counties different from those in which the excesses were committed. In consequence, several of the steel boys, against whom examinations had been taken, were carried to Dublin and put upon their trial. But so strong was the prejudice conceived against this breach of a fundamental law of the constitution, that no jury there would find any of them guilty.

Soon after the obnoxious act was repealed. Reflexion now took place, and the pernicious consequence of the principles and the conduct of the in-

insurgents began to be viewed by the people in a just light. Once more some of them were tried in their respective counties. The indictments were proved, and they were condemned and executed. These examples, with proper exertions of the military, extinguished the commotion.

BUT the cause from which it arose, and the fear of punishment operating strongly on the minds of many of the insurgents, and the influence of their example extending to their relations, to their friends and connexions, produced effects that were permanent and highly prejudicial to this country. In a short time, many thousands of it's inhabitants emigrated to America.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LXXXI.

LORD Harcourt was chief governor of Ireland in seventeen hundred and seventy three. His efforts, in support of the measures of administration were so powerful that the opposition in parliament to those of them which were considered as unfriendly to the national interest were quite feeble and unsuccessful. But the commons, however pliant to the wishes of government, were not altogether insensible to the general welfare. They saw the difficulties under which we laboured, and, in December, upon being called up to the house of lords to be present at the passing of such bills as were prepared for receiving the royal assent, declared to the lord lieutenant, by their speaker, their desires, with respect to them, in plain terms. Among other particulars, they told his Excellency that they hoped he would represent to the King, the state of this nation, restricted in it's commerce from the short-sighted

short-sighted policy of former times, to the great injury of the kingdom and advantage of the rivals, if not enemies to Great Britain. They pointed out to him that this hardship imposed upon us was not only inpolitick but unjust, and that they expected to be restored to some, if not to all their rights, which only could justify them to their constituents for laying on them so many burdens, during the course of the session. But this was not the season of redress.

Adieu.

LETTER LXXXII.

MANY years had elapsed since the peace of Ireland was disturbed by the calamities of war. It is favoured with a temperate climate, with a fruitful soil, with a variety of excellent harbours, with materials for manufacture, and provided with inhabitants, active spirited and intelligent. Notwithstanding, it was pressed by difficulties the cause of which was pointed out in the address of our parliament to the lord lieutenant mentioned in the conclusion of my last letter.

FROM a period so remote as the reign of Edward the Third, British laws were enacted favourable to the trade of this country. Even in her treaties with foreign princes, England paid attention to the commercial interests of Ireland. Though our intestine insurrections were a great obstacle to these and every advantage we enjoyed conducive to national prosperity, our situation gradually improved. In the time of Charles the First, the customs very considerably increased in their value. The commodities we exported far exceeded those we imported and our shipping was supposed to have increased an hundred

hundred fold. Manufactures were set on foot, lands became more valuable, there was not a country in Europe in a more promising state of improvement.

THE pernicious effects, with respect to the welfare of the nation produced by the insurrection of sixteen hundred and forty one, would have had but a temporary duration. With the return of peace industry would have restored our flattering prospects, but the British restrictive laws enacted in the beginning of the reign of Charles the Second extinguished them. We must not send our beef or live cattle to England, a privilege we had long enjoyed and which conduced much to our advantage. We must not export our commodities to the American colonies, nor bring commodities from thence without first unloading them in some part of England or of Wales. By the charters granted to trading companies we had been excluded from Asia. There is scarcely a valuable article of exportation or importation upon which restrictions were not imposed, in respect to our commerce, with every nation of Europe.

You recollect that towards the latter part of the reign of King William, the parliament of England restrained the exportation of our woollen manufactures by an absolute prohibition. By this policy, not more cruel and unjust to us, than unwise, with respect to themselves, they forced these manufactures, hitherto, the principal source of our wealth and industry, to France, Germany and Spain. The French, by means of smuggling, now supplied in abundance with Irish wool, were not only provided with woollen fabrieks quite sufficient for their own consumption, but vied with the English in foreign markets.

WHEN

WHEN thus deprived of our woollen trade, it was generally understood that England, by way of compensation, would encourage our linen manufacture. That she was little interested in the success of this our principal remaining branch of trade, is evident from the restrictions she imposed on our printed linens and sailcloth and from the encouragement which she gave to foreign linens.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LXXXIII.

THE spirit respecting Ireland, which prevailed in England a few years subsequent to the revolution, more strongly appears from the following circumstance, than even from the particulars already adduced. Two petitions were preferred to the British parliament stating it as a singular grievance, that the markets of the petitioners were spoiled by the Irish being permitted to catch herrings at Waterford and Wexford and to send them to the streights.

How deeply the oppressive laws of the British legislature injured this country, appears from the records of our parliament which met in seventeen hundred and three. They complain of the total loss of trade and of the decay of our manufactures. In the smallness of the grants, the neglected state of the country and in the addresses of our legislature, the poverty of the kingdom, for succeeding years, is conspicuously evident. Distress and even despondency strongly mark the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne. The pernicious influence of war and of other causes of national adversity are transient, the evils occasioned by commercial restrictions are lasting. Ireland continued to be pressed by difficulties

difficulties through the whole of the reign of George the First. In his time, frequently, and once in that of his successor, the people suffered miserably by famine. If trade and manufactures are obstructed, tillage must decay as a necessary consequence.

In seventeen hundred and fifty three and the following year the influx of foreign luxuries raised the revenue so considerably, that the kingdom was disencumbered of the national debt. This appearance of prosperity was delusive. The taste for expensive living which then prevailed was most extravagant. Numbers of our principal merchants dealt upon credit. The balance of trade was considerably against us. In a very short time the effect was visible. Individuals failed. Government was obliged to interpose, in support of public credit, which tottered on the brink of destruction. In promoting a spirit of industry and reducing the price of provisions, the bounty given by parliament upon land carriage of corn and flour to Dublin, was of singular use.

By the late war we were involved in great expence; a peace establishment very oppressive followed; pensions encreased; the revenue declined; in consequence, a debt was contracted by the nation, exceeding that discharged in seventeen hundred and fifty four, beyond all proportion.

How humiliating and how deplorable must have been our situation, during a succeeding period, when it appeared that Ireland remitted to England for rents, for interest of money, for pensions, salaries and profits of office, a sum double of what she gained from the whole world by the commerce which she was permitted to carry on through the indulgence of Great Britain.

SUCH

SUCH discouragements as those which oppressed our trade no possible exertions could surmount. But in circumstances of this kind men become indisposed to those efforts of which, in different circumstances, they are capable. A gloomy prospect relaxes the nerves of industry, debilitates the active powers, the spirit becomes depressed, without which it is impossible to plan or to execute those schemes conducive to national prosperity. Men habituated to suffering learn to bear their difficulties with a degree of indifference. Sunk down into a state of insensibility, the resentment against their oppressors, so natural to the human heart, subsides; they even cease to complain. But in seventeen hundred and seventy eight the circumstances of Ireland, from particular causes, were rendered so peculiarly distressing as to excite in the minds of the people a strong sense of their unhappy situation.

Adieu.

LETTER LXXXIV.

THE same spirit of domination in Britain, by which Irishmen had been so deeply injured, attempted to tear from the American colonies their natural and their chartered rights. They resisted, England determined to enforce her claims by the sword, and both countries were involved in the calamities of civil war. There had hitherto been exported annually to America large quantities of Irish linens; this very considerable source of national advantage was now entirely shut up. Under pretence of rendering it more difficult for the enemy to be supplied with the means of subsistence, but in reality to enable a few English rapacious contractors to fulfill their engagements, an embargo, which continued,

tinued, was in seventeen hundred and seventy six laid upon the exportation of provisions from Ireland, by an unconstitutional stretch of prerogative. Remittances to England, on various accounts, and particularly for the payment of our forces abroad, were more than usually considerable. These immediate causes being combined with those which were invulnerable and permanent, produced in this country calamitous effects. Black cattle fell very considerably in their value, notwithstanding, purchasers could not be had. The price of wool was reduced in still a greater proportion. Rents every where fell, nor in many places was it possible to collect them. A universal stagnation of business ensued. Credit was very materially injured. Farmers were pressed by extreme necessity; many of them failed. Numbers of manufacturers, reduced to want, would have perished, had they not been supported by public charity. Those of every rank and condition were deeply affected by the calamity of the times. Had the state of the exchequer permitted, grants might have been made to promote industry and to alleviate the national distress, but it was exhausted to a very uncommon degree. Almost every branch of the revenue had failed. From want of money the militia law could not be carried into execution. We could not pay our forces abroad; to enable us to pay those at home, there was a necessity of borrowing fifty thousand pounds from England. The money which parliament were forced to raise, it was obliged to borrow at an exorbitant interest.

ENGLAND, in it's present state, was affected by the wretched condition to which our affairs were reduced. Individuals there who had estates in Ireland were sharers of the common calamity; the attention of individuals in the British parliament was turned

to

to our situation, who had even no personal interest in this country.

IN April seventeen hundred and seventy eight, Earl Nugent moved that a committee of the whole house should be appointed to consider the trade of Ireland. He supported his motion by observing, that the condition of this country was deplorable; this was visible in the fallen price of our lands, in the ruinous state of our manufactures, and in the want which universally prevailed. He asked, what power had behaved like England towards this kingdom? To restrain by law, to confine the trade of one part of an empire for the benefit of another; was a case unprecedented in Europe. The house of Austria, France and Spain, cherished equally all the states subject to their dominion.

THE motion was agreed to, almost unanimously, by the British house of commons. Those afterwards, in consequence of it, brought forward, were, that the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the English plantations or to the settlements on the coast of Africa, all goods, the produce or the manufacture of the kingdom, wool and woollen manufactures only excepted, or commodities of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain legally imported from that kingdom, as also foreign certificate goods, under the same condition. That all goods the produce of any of the British plantations, or of the settlements on the coast of Africa, tobacco excepted, be allowed to be directly imported into Ireland. That glass, manufactured in that kingdom, be permitted to be exported from Ireland to all places, England excepted. That cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, be allowed to be imported into Great Britain. The design of the fifth was, that with respect to our sailcloth and cordage, we
should

should have the same privilege. These motions passed unanimously.

IN course of the debate upon them, it was observed that notwithstanding the real distresses of this country and the iniquitous laws by which we were oppressed, we had entered into the situation of England and shewn a willingness to assist her, even beyond our ability. One member concluded his speech with declaring, that a braver, a more generous, or a more loyal people than the Irish, were not to be found, and that he therefore flattered himself that they would be treated according to their high deserts.

BILLS were framed on the motions mentioned above.

THE trading and manufacturing towns of England now took the alarm. Any enlargement of our trade they considered not only as prejudicial to their interest, but an encroachment on their rights. It was their desire, that Irishmen should neither be allowed to export their own commodities, or to import those of other countries. An invasion of its rights, similar to those of which we complained, was about to separate for ever America from the British Empire; insensible to the admonition of this awful example, in their conduct with respect to us, it had no influence.

UPON the meeting of parliament, after the Easter recess, petitions were brought forward against the intended indulgence to Ireland, and members instructed to the same purpose. Upon this occasion, a ridiculous circumstance occurred. Petitions appeared not only against the other Irish bills but that for allowing us to import sail cloth into Great Britain. Without the knowledge of the member who proposed the bill, we had long enjoyed this indulgence,

gence, from which England received no injury. Nothing than this absurdity could place the unreasonable prejudices of the petitioners in a more striking point of view. Notwithstanding, their complaints had the desired effect.

UPON the second reading of the bills, they were warmly opposed. Mr. Bourke supported them with his usual eloquence, and with strong force of argument. He said, the navigation bills, passed in the reign of Charles the Second, had deprived Ireland of every incentive to industry, and shut up against it every avenue to wealth. That yet, Ireland had promoted the interest, and defended the rights of Great Britain. She had assisted in conquests, from which she was to reap no advantage, she had emptied her treasury and desolated her land, to prove her attachment and loyalty to this country. For this, restriction and commercial bondage had been her reward. But, in describing her conduct and situation, he pleaded not for pity, but demanded justice. The Irish requested Britain to be wise, not to be generous. The smallness of the Irish taxes had, he said, been pleaded against allowing them the benefits proposed. But, he observed, that if the internal opulence and external advantages of both countries were compared, it would be found that Ireland paid taxes, in a quadruple proportion more than England. She was taxed beyond her ability, and had not the means of payment. With respect to those who were for excluding this country from an equal share of our trade, he said, they had a strange opinion of the extent of the world, who thought that there was not room enough in it for the trade of two such islands as Britain and Ireland.

AIDED by the influence of the minister, the bills were committed, but violent opposition to them continued,

continued, in consequence of which, they were deserted by a number of those who had hitherto given them support. The advantages obtained for Ireland, on this occasion, were of little importance.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LXXXV.

THOUGH the late efforts in it's behalf of the friends of Ireland in the British parliament had been unsuccessful, they renewed their attempts in our favour, previous to the Christmas recess. They urged, that independent of all regard to justice and liberality, England, from necessity, was called upon to remove the cause of our complaints. The trade with America and our colonies in that quarter of the globe was lost, it was therefore indispensable to unite in one point of interest and affection the remaining parts of the empire for their mutual support and preservation. Ireland, they said, had hitherto been passive, but there was danger, if refused justice, that she would recoil upon her oppressors and cast off the yoke of those who were insensible to her calamities and determined to drive her to extremities. That if this should not happen, the tyranny of England would be of little advantage to them, for the people of this country, on a peace, would desert it and emigrate to America, where they would carry along with them their manufactures, arts and industry. That by emancipating Ireland, instead of being merely despots of the soil and sustaining an irreparable loss, they would obtain very considerable advantages. They asserted, that every benefit extended to this kingdom, would return back to Britain with accumulated interest. Is it fit, say they, to sacrifice

fice the interest of England to the monopoly of particular districts or to the clamours and absurd prejudices of any body of manufacturers whatever? Supported by these and other similar arguments, a free-trade, that respecting the woollen manufacture excepted, was demanded in favour of Ireland. The strength of opposition reduced the prospect of these advantages to a motion made by Lord Newhaven, in February seventeen hundred and seventy nine, that the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider of the fitness of granting to the Irish a liberty of importing sugars directly from the West Indies. It was carried, but the manufacturers of Glasgow and of Manchester petitioned against this advantage designed for the relief of Ireland. It was lost through the interference of the minister who had hitherto taken no part in the business but now exerted his influence in opposition to it.

BEFORE the close of the session, various efforts were made, particularly by the Marquis of Rockingham, to bring on again the affairs of this country before parliament. Ministry were forced to give some attention to them, nothing more however could be obtained from them than a sort of compromise. Upon condition that no farther attempts should be made, at present, in the business, Lord Gower, president of the council, pledged himself, as far as he could be answerable for others, that, during the recess, a plan should be prepared for accommodating the affairs of Ireland, to be laid before parliament, at the opening of the next session.

Adieu.

L E T T E R LXXXVI.

MEAN while, in this country, the public distresses encreased and matters hastened to a crisis. Every day we felt more sensibly our unhappy situation and the oppressive injustice of England which was the cause of it. However, our feelings were in some measure suspended by the hopes of relief, so long as our affairs were under consideration of the British parliament; but when it was found that the English minister, in whom we confided, had deserted our cause and that these hopes were vain, the discontents of the nation, enflamed by disappointment, were exceedingly encreased. Two laws had indeed been passed in our favour by the parliament of England, one of them permitting us to plant tobacco, the other for encouraging us to cultivate hemp. These being considered as a mockery, instead of contributing to remove our dissatisfaction, were received with contempt.

THE admirable spirit which in a short time was to retrieve the dignity of the nation and to reflect upon it distinguished honor, now began to appear. A resolution was formed for rescuing us from the difficulties by which we were oppressed, more effectual than any hitherto adopted. To convince England that it was possible for her to feel disagreeable effects of her tyranny and to save a million of money annually expended upon articles brought hither from that country was a very desirable object.

WITH this view, associations which had been entered into in a few places some time before for preventing the importation of British commodities and to encourage our own manufactures became universal through the kingdom. The public resentment

was

was held forth to intimidate those who might be disposed, in this respect, to prefer their own private interest to that of their country. Some who were so base as to act this dishonourable part had the mortification to see their names published and their conduct exhibited as a mark for obloquy and for general indignation. In consequence of this effort of patriotism, our manufactures began to revive and the demand for goods from England, in a great measure ceased, which produced there a disposition to listen to the complaints of this country, very different from that which we had hitherto experienced.

BUT there was a voice in favour of our rights more distinctly heard, a voice which proclaimed through the land the injuries of Ireland and loudly demanded redress.

In consequence of our breach with America the Irish coasts had been insulted and our trading ships, unprotected, taken by their privateers. The communication, even with England, was in a great measure obstructed. France had now determined to join her arms to those of America which rendered our situation and that of all of the other parts of the empire more critical. That Ireland would be invaded, was more than probable. Thus exposed to danger we were destitute of the means of defence. The minister told us that the present state of Britain was such as rendered her incapable to protect us. The weakness of government, from the following circumstance was strikingly obvious. The Mayor of Belfast having transmitted a memorial to the lord lieutenant describing the unprotected state of the coast and requesting a body of the military for its defence, received for answer, that he could afford him no other assistance than half a troop of dismounted horse and half a company of invalids.

IN this most disagreeable situation, a number of the inhabitants of this town, which had always been distinguished for public spirit, associated for the purpose of self defence. The same idea had been conceived in other parts of the kingdom. Upon this principle, a few Volunteer companies were formed, who chose their own officers, purchased their own uniform and their own arms, and, with the assistance of persons properly qualified, assembled regularly on parade to acquire a knowledge of the military art. Such was the origin of the gallant band of patriots, unparalleled in the annals of the world, who, are the pride and the ornaments of our country, who have rescued it from bondage and disgrace, whose virtues the historian will transmit with merited esteem and veneration to posterity.

Adieu.

L E T T E R LXXXVII.

THE respectable appearance of the first Volunteer companies, the motive which induced them to associate, and the zeal which they discovered to acquit themselves with reputation in their new character, attracted the public curiosity, and procured for them universal respect. On no occasion was the influence of example ever more powerful. The spirit was diffused, and every day brought to them an acquisition of strength. Men of the first consequence in the kingdom were proud of being enroled in their number. Persons of credit and independent circumstances, instead of thinking it disgraceful, considered it as an honor to appear in the ranks.

THEIR unexpected encrease presented a new and animating object to the view of these military patriots.

tricts. That their country should be grievously oppressed by commercial restrictions, and that it's citizens in arms should use no efforts for it's deliverance, argued a degree of inattention to it's welfare and to their own dignity, which appeared dishonourable to their character. The thought insensibly made a stronger impression on their minds, and they began to speak out with freedom their sentiments on the subject. To defend the kingdom from foreign invasion was to preserve it from only a temporary evil, to be the means of opening to it a source of prosperity, from which it had been long excluded, was not only to relieve it from immediate distress, but to procure for it a substantial and permanent good. From this animating idea new ardor was derived to the spirit of volunteering, inso-much that at the conclusion of the year seventeen hundred and seventy eight our military associations were supposed to amount to nearly thirty thousand men. By this time a clear idea was formed of their principles, of their conduct and their importance. Whilst they professed their loyalty to the King, and their resolution to protect their country from foreign enemies, they called for the restitution of our commercial rights. Those of them even in the most straitened circumstances bestowed that expence and time necessary to cloath themselves and to learn the use of arms, with chearfulness and with spirit. Though subject to no control but inclination, they were perfectly obedient to discipline. For sobriety and decent demeanour, their behaviour was not only unexceptionable but exemplary. They restrained the irregular, suppressed disorders, and maintained the execution of the laws with unanimity and with force.

A BODY of armed men, acquiring in a short space, such strength and consequence, commanding the confidence and the support of their fellow citizens, both able and disposed to counteract the unfriendly views of government with respect to this country, were to the state an object of astonishment and vexation. In the infancy of the volunteers, they might have been suppressed, but in their present state resistance was vain.

As the Volunteers could not be controled, some efforts were made to bring them under the influence of the crown, but they were treated with merited contempt. It being found impossible either to dissolve or to prevail with them to coincide with the wishes of government, it now seemed most expedient to assume the appearance of treating them with confidence. Accordingly, orders were issued to the governors of the several counties to distribute among them sixteen thousand stand of arms.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LXXXVIII.

ENCOURAGED by the spirit of the nation, and pressed by the difficulties arising from the reduced value of their estates, the representatives of the people began to entertain new views and to be inspired with different sentiments in respect to our situation. They met about the middle of October seventeen hundred and seventy nine.

THE speech from the throne produced in the house of commons a long and interesting debate in which the distresses of Ireland were placed in a striking light and the necessity urged of adopting, immediately, some effectual measure for obtaining relief. At last, the sentiments of the house were very happily

pily expressed by a member who moved that the address proposed to his Majesty should be amended by these words, "It is not by temporary expedients but by a free trade only that the nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." The amendment passed unanimously. The lords concurred. When the speaker carried up the address to the Lord Lieutenant, the streets, from the parliament house to the castle, were lined by the Dublin Volunteers, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, drawn up in their arms and uniform. The acclamations of the people as he passed along, expressed their wishes and their joy on this very singular occasion. The pulse of the nation beat high. A general expectation of redress was now diffused, at the same time, anxiety and suspicions were entertained that there was danger of being disappointed by the same spirit of tyranny in England which had hitherto kept this country in a state of such humiliating and oppressive bondage. That methods of compulsion would procure us justice, was the only solid foundation of hope.

SHOULD our representatives who held the national purse, grant the supply as usual, for two years, there was hazard, notwithstanding all our efforts, that Great Britain would so long continue her usurpation. When the supply was granted a prorogation of parliament might frustrate our wishes.

THESE were the sentiments which universally prevailed and were echoed through the kingdom. In parliament, those of the court party were averse to the measure. From resentment, the Dublin mob rose, committed several acts of violence and threatened vengeance against those who should oppose it. When the point came to be considered, a majority of the commons, some from principle and others from necessity, appeared in support of it. A short money

money bill was passed and transmitted to England, where, though unusual and mortifying to the minister it passed also. It was highly to the honor of the Irish public creditors that they entered so warmly into the wisdom and propriety of this exertion in favour of the rights of their country, as to acquiesce cheerfully in six months security, the period to which the money bill was limited.

SUCH was the state of affairs in Ireland during the recess of the British parliament. It met in December. A noble lord introduced the business respecting this country into the house of peers. He complained that ministry had been shamefully negligent with relation to it, at the risque of the union and the prosperity of both kingdoms. He said that the time was critical; that the Irish were driven to despair; that the fate of their country had been committed to fortune, to chance or accident. That the circumstances of Ireland were singular which had long maintained, for internal defence, a military force beyond her ability, of which, contrary to royal faith, she had been stripped for the support of the American war in which she had no concern, nay, from the principle of which she had reason to fear it would be applied to the subversion of her own constitution; that, in this state of weakness, the enemies of the empire threatened her with invasion; that when she applied to Britain for protection, the answer, she received was, "you must protect yourself." Thus finding herself exposed and deserted, she was saved by the magnanimity of her sons, who, of every class, voluntarily armed and united to save their country from destruction. He observed, that the Irish, now conscious of possessing a force and consequence to which they were hitherto strangers, resolved to apply it for obtaining advantages to the nation

nation of which, by this exertion of spirit, they shewed themselves worthy. The government of Ireland, he said, had been abdicated, and the people resumed the powers which from them were originally derived, in which they were justified by every principle of the constitution and by every motive of self preservation. Had the Irish, some time before, been gratified, in lesser matters, they would have received the favour with thankfulness, but the season of reconciliation and of gratitude was now past; whatever the British parliament might at present, grant, would be received by the Irish not as a matter of favour but of right. He then moved a vote of censure on his Majesty's ministers for their neglect of Ireland. Though the motion was negatived, in the course of the debate upon it, Earl Gower, who had now deserted government, declared, that there did not exist a single doubt in his mind that the censure contained in the vote was well founded. He said, in his own vindication, that early in the Summer he had promised that relief should be granted to Ireland and had done every thing in his power to keep his word, but that all his efforts had proved totally fruitless.

In the house of commons, the minister was strongly pressed on the same subject. Besides the difficulties in which this involved him, he found himself greatly distressed by the short Irish money bill. He now gave notice that in less than a week he would move for a committee of the whole house to take the affairs of Ireland into consideration. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of December he brought forwards his propositions relative to this country. Their design was to repeal the laws which prohibited the exportation of Irish manufactures made of or mixed with wool and wool flocks, from
Ireland

Ireland to any part of Europe. To repeal so much of the act of the nineteenth of George the Second as prohibited the importation of glass into Ireland, except of British manufacture, or to export glass from that kingdom. To permit Ireland to export and import commodities to and from the British colonies in America and the West Indies and her settlements on the coast of Africa, subject to such regulations and restrictions as should be imposed by the Irish parliament. Influenced by the circumstances of the times, he now took a decided part in favour of Ireland. In support of the above propositions he entered into a train of argument which pointed out their propriety, their justice, their necessity. He now spoke of our natural and inherent rights and of the advantages from a repeal of the restrictive statutes which would result to both countries. Bills, in exact conformity to the several particulars in our favour proposed by the minister, were brought in and passed into laws.

Farewell.

L E T T E R LXXXIX.

WHEN intelligence of the relief we had obtained from the commercial bondage by which we had been so long oppressed reached Ireland, the pleasure which the people felt on the happy occasion was expressed, universally, in the most sensible manner. Satisfaction appeared in every countenance. Our bright prospect roused the spirit of the nation; industry revived and things assumed a new face, even before we could receive, in the way of commerce, any advantage from the free trade we had obtained.

BUT

BUT when the feelings natural to men in such a situation subsided and reflection took place, the public mind began to be inspired by the hope of obtaining a new and more important object.

IT was suggested that a free trade could be of little use, if held by a precarious tenure; to be of any real advantage it must rest upon a solid and permanent foundation.

THE repeal of the laws by which England had confined our commerce was not a voluntary act, but the effect of necessity; when that necessity no longer existed, the British parliament might recall the benefit we had received, and fetter our trade by new, perhaps more oppressive restrictions. To secure to us the advantages we at present enjoyed, she must relinquish her usurped claim of a right to make laws to bind us, and restore to us the privileges of a free constitution. On the spirit and the force of the Volunteers, whose patriotism Irishmen revered, and which Britain, in the late instance, both felt and acknowledged, the nation chiefly depended for the gratification of these desires. They were not deceived. No idea could be more pleasing to these guardians of our liberties, who determined to exert themselves in a cause so beneficial and so honourable to their country, and so worthy of the reputation which they had hitherto maintained. The desire and the prospect of obtaining so glorious an object increased their numbers. They perceived that the time was most critical. Besides the force of America, in her efforts to subdue which she had been hitherto quite unsuccessful, England, without a single ally, had to contend with the united branches of the house of Bourbon, whose fleets the preceding Summer rode triumphant in the Channel, whilst that of Britain, hitherto master of the ocean,

was

was obliged to retreat to their own coasts for protection. They saw that from the comparative weakness of England, which was augmented by every accession to our military associations, we could alone hope for a compleat emancipation. Here the cause and effect of the American war were pregnant with instruction. It had originated in a determined resolution of the English to tax the Colonies without their consent. In the course of it, the Colonies having demonstrated by glorious and successful exertions that they were not to be dragooned into slavery, were offered by the mother country full security with respect to the exclusive exercise, in future, of their legislative rights.

OTHER causes had conspired to encrease the number of our Volunteers. They had received the thanks of both houses of parliament; this sanction induced many to enter their lists, who, before, were scrupulous to connect themselves with a body of men that had armed without any positive law, or the interposition of the ordinary magistrate. The same principle which had induced government, in the beginning, to endeavour to attach those to their interest whom they could not direct, prompted them to engage several of their friends in the Volunteer cause. Hence, several new corps were raised. This object of dependence was a broken reed, for whatever might be the views of the officers of these corps, the private men were animated by the same attachment to their country which distinguished their fellow citizens. Besides fashion, a sense of honor and of dignity, which was now inseparably united to the character of a Volunteer, operated most powerfully in favour of our military associations. They were become highly respectable, not only at home, but in the other countries of Europe. Impressions

to

to their advantage, which also contributed to render them more numerous were made by the neatness and the decency of their appearance. The use of arms rubbed off uncouth awkwardness and polished the address and manners even of those of them who had been accustomed to the most clumsy occupations.

SEVERAL publications tended to diffuse and to invigorate this patriotic flame. Of these, letters under the signature of Owen Roe O'Nial, distinguished by boldness of thought and expression, by a warmth of patriotism and a cast of original genius, engaged, particularly, the public attention. In promoting the interest of the same excellent cause, the pulpit also contributed it's part.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XC.

HITHERTO, the Volunteers had acted in detached companies. To facilitate the communication of their political sentiments and of their designs and to give greater force to the cause in which they were engaged, they now began to form themselves into battalions. In a short time, they were all united in this manner except a small number of corps who from their situation, or some particular reason, continued separate. The time was arrived most proper for declaring more openly, their opinion and their determination with respect to the state of public affairs. In general, the news papers teemed with resolutions from the several corps declaring, that Ireland was an independent kingdom, entitled by reason, by nature and by compact to all the privileges and immunities of a free constitution; that no power in the universe, except our own king, lords

lords and commons, had or ought to have authority to make laws to bind us; that in support of these our inherent rights and in opposition to the usurped claims of any foreign legislature, they were determined to risque their property, their lives, every thing dearest to them upon earth.

NOTWITHSTANDING, government set themselves strongly in opposition to the enlargement of our constitutional rights, and the majority of our representatives were servilely obedient to their dictates. But a number of the minority animated by a glow of patriotism used every possible endeavour to gratify the wishes of the people.

ONE of these, revered for his abilities and integrity, moved in the house of commons, in April seventeen hundred and eighty, "that no power on earth, save the king lords and commons of Ireland, has a right to make laws to bind us." Every member in the house, one excepted, acknowledged the truth of the proposition, either in express terms or by not opposing it, and yet, however astonishing it may appear, it was evident that had the question been put, it would have been determined in the negative. The matter was compromised. The question was not put, and nothing relating to it was entered on the journals.

THAT our representatives should permit themselves, from any motive, to be drawn into an inconsistency so injurious to their own character and to the privileges and the dignity of the nation, suggested reflections to the people serious and alarming.

HITHERTO the Irish army had been regulated by an English act of parliament; to place them under the direction of our legislature, a mutiny bill, soon after, was introduced into the house of commons; it
passed,

passed, but in England was made perpetual. The alteration was submitted to and the bill passed into a law. This remedy was worse than the disease.

MEN whom the use of arms, as a separate and distinct profession, does not detach from their country, are the most proper and the most natural guardians of it's safety and of it's privileges. Henry the Seventh of France to encrease and to secure the influence of the crown, taught the princes of Europe to keep on foot standing armies.

THIS engine of power, unknown by our common law and most dangerous in it's nature to the right of freemen, was, from the beginning, in a particular manner, an object of suspicion and of jealousy to the English parliament. This strongly appears from their mutiny bill, calculated, as much as possible, for bringing the army under their own control. By it, they limit it's number and determine, precisely, the regulations by which it is governed.

THAT in case the power derived from this law should be abused, they might be able more immediately to interpose and restrain the influence of the crown, they have always confined it's duration within the limits of a year. If in Great Britain, these precautions were necessary, they were still more so with respect to us. To furnish his Majesty with perpetual regulations for governing the army, and thus encrease, so considerably, his power over it, in a country where he enjoys so large an hereditary revenue, was thought to be most dangerous to our liberties, and excited much dissatisfaction. This was very much encreased by two unsuccessful attempts made in the house of commons, respecting our liberties, one, for obtaining an act to modify Poynings' Law, and the other, to secure the independence of the judges. The nation, at the beginning

ginning of the session, entertained most flattering expectations of the benefits which the kingdom would receive from the spirited conduct of parliament; the dishonourable conclusion of it, created universal disgust.

Adieu.

LETTER XCI.

REVIEWS were now thought necessary for teaching the Volunteers to act together in larger bodies, for giving a stronger idea of their consequence, for placing them to their fellow citizens in a more conspicuous light, and thus furnishing them with an opportunity and with a new incentive to acquire a more accurate knowledge of the use of arms. In Spring, meetings of delegates having taken place, at which all the necessary particulars respecting them were adjusted, there were reviews in different parts of the kingdom during the course of the Summer seventeen hundred and eighty. In their march, on these occasions, and in the places where they were reviewed, free quarters and entertainment were provided for them by the people with cheerfulness, and with those lively sentiments of gratitude due to those generous patriots who had already obliged them most essentially and to whom, from the expectation of their future still more spirited exertions, they looked up as the saviours of their country. Considering that they were young soldiers, and that their many avocations necessarily diverted their attention from the military art, they acquitted themselves, in the field, with much reputation. The spectators, who, in general, were very numerous, were struck by the novelty and the grandeur of the sight, and expressed, in the most sensible

sensible manner, their pleasure and satisfaction. If the people were gratified by the appearance, by the expertness, the spirit and exemplary conduct of the Volunteers upon occasion of these military exhibitions, the Volunteers were highly entertained with them, were inspired by new life and vigour and determined to render themselves still more worthy of the applauses of their countrymen. The addresses to the reviewing generals and their other publications coming from more numerous and more respectable bodies tended to make a deeper impression. Some of them were indeed more feeble, but even these, instead of injuring, served the common cause; the public received them with great dissatisfaction and censured them severely, by which the authors of them were taught to be ashamed of their conduct and naturally inspired with more honourable sentiments. It was therefore determined that reviews should be annual.

THE Volunteers having still continued to increase, the reviews in Summer seventeen hundred and eighty one, were more numerous and more striking. It appeared that those belonging to the corps which had associated more early were better appointed and considerably improved in military discipline. At Belfast, there were reviewed more than five thousand men whose appearance and respectable performance were set off to peculiar advantage by the display of thirteen pieces of cannon.

IN the beginning of Autumn, our military associations gave a new proof of their magnanimity. Ministry suspected that the combined fleet which had been for some time in the Channel, designed to invade Ireland and communicated their apprehensions. The moment this intelligence arrived, the Volunteers assembled, and, from all quarters, made an

offer of their assistance to government. They stepped forward with alacrity and did duty in some of the garrisoned towns, in place of the soldiers whom it had been necessary to call off to more distant parts of the kingdom. From the spirited emulation which they discovered in this emergence, in behalf of the public safety, there is not the least doubt, had the landing of the enemy rendered their service necessary, but they would have acquitted themselves with the same honor by which they had hitherto been distinguished, in every instance of their conduct.

For their behaviour, on this occasion, they received, a second time, the thanks of both houses of parliament.

Adieu.

L E T T E R XCII

IT was during the administration of Lord Buckinghamshire that the Volunteer associations had commenced and risen to such consequence. The British ministry supposed that his exertions in opposing them might have been more vigorous; he was therefore recalled and Lord Carlisle made chief governor of Ireland. If Lord Carlisle entertained any hopes of breaking the spirit of the nation, experience soon convinced him they were vain. But he had the address to direct most effectually our parliament. The preceding session, an address had been transmitted for a free trade; a short money bill had passed and one for regulating the army; that which met the following Winter under his auspices, did, in every single instance, coincide with the wishes of government. The attempts which were made, by the minority, to obtain a repeal of the obnoxious part

part of the mutiny bill and a modification of Poyning's Law, every effort in favour of the rights of the people was altogether ineffectual. From evil signal advantages are frequently educed. A partial compliance with the wishes of the nation might have satisfied the less discerning of our patriots and insensibly cooled the ardor of the rest, but such intolerable treatment roused their resentment and produced a glorious exertion which emancipated our country. It originated with the officers of the Southern battalion of the Armagh regiment commanded by the Earl of Charlemont. These advocates for their country's cause, at a meeting on the twenty eighth of December, entered unanimously into the following resolutions which were ordered to be published.

“RESOLVED, that with the utmost concern, we behold the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of this kingdom by the majority of those whose duty it is to establish and preserve the same.

“RESOLVED, that to avert the impending danger from the nation, and to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most vigorous and effectual methods must be pursued, to root corruption and court influence from the legislative body.

“RESOLVED, that to open a path towards the attaining of this desirable point, it is absolutely requisite that a meeting be held in the most central town of the province of Ulster, which we conceive to be Dungannon, to which said meeting every Volunteer association of said province is most earnestly requested to send delegates, then and there to deliberate on the present alarming situation of public affairs and to determine on and publish to their country what may be the result of said meeting.

“RESOLVED, that as many real and lasting advantages may arise to this kingdom, from said in-

tended meeting being held before the present session of parliament is much farther advanced, Friday, the fifteenth day of February next, is appointed for said meeting at Dungannon."

THE novelty and the boldness of these resolutions astonished the public. Government and it's friends highly offended at the severe reflections cast upon parliament and apprehensive of the consequences, used every means to prevent the intended meeting. A few, desperate in their views and lost to all principle wished that it should take place and by the violence of it's proceeding shock the feelings of the more moderate, by which ministry would be furnished with a reason for taking the most effectual method to dissolve our military associations. Many of their warmest friends apprehensive of this, or of some other consequence prejudicial to the common cause, wished earnestly that the meeting had not been called. A number, supported in their opinion by that of the people in general, applauded the design, filled with strong hopes that the result of it would be conducive to the public good. That this might be the case, the most prudent methods were taken by a few equally distinguished by their dignity of station and their patriotism.

WHILST the minds of men were thus variously affected, the fifteenth of February arrived.

Farewell.

L E T T E R X C I I I.

THE representatives of a hundred and forty three corps attended at Dungannon. What follows was the result of the deliberations of that memorable assembly.

“ WHEREAS

“ WHEREAS it has been asserted that Volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate or publish their opinions, on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament, or public men.

“ RESOLVED unanimously, that a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights.

“ RESOLVED unanimously, that a claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal and a grievance.

“ RESOLVED, with one dissenting voice only, that the powers exercised by the privy council of both kingdoms, under, or under colour or pretence of the Law of Poynings, are unconstitutional and a grievance.

“ RESOLVED unanimously, that the ports of this country, are, by right, open to all foreign countries, not at war with the king, and that any burden thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal and a grievance.

“ RESOLVED, with one dissenting voice only, that a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional and a grievance.

“ RESOLVED unanimously, that the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is, in itself, unconstitutional and a grievance.

“ RESOLVED, with eleven dissenting voices only, that it is our decided and unalterable determination

to seek a redress of these grievances, and we pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, as freeholders, fellow citizens and men of honor, that we will, at every ensuing election, support those only who have supported and will support us therein, and that we will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

“RESOLVED, with one dissenting voice only, that the right honourable and honourable the minority in parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks, and that the annexed address be signed by the chairman and published with these resolutions.

“RESOLVED unanimously, that four members from each county of the province of Ulster, eleven to be a quorum, be and are hereby appointed a committee till next general meeting, to act for the Volunteer corps here represented, and, as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province.” The committee were appointed. They then

“RESOLVED unanimously, that the committee be and are hereby instructed to call a general meeting of the province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present parliament, should such an event sooner take place.

“RESOLVED unanimously, that said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other Volunteer associations in the other provinces, as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.”

PORTUGAL, most unjustly, had refused to admit to entry certain Irish commodities, in respect to which the delegates

“RESOLVED,

“**RESOLVED** unanimously, that the court of Portugal had acted towards this kingdom, being a part of the British empire, in such a manner as to call upon them to declare and to pledge themselves to each other, that they would not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal, and that they would, to the extent of their influence, prevent the use of said wine, except the wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our exports should be received in the kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British empire.”

POLICY had begun to inspire more favourable sentiments with respect to the Roman Catholics, in consequence of which our legislature had afforded them some, and were about to afford them farther relief from the oppressions under which they had hitherto laboured. With a view to these acts of justice and humanity, the delegates added the two following resolutions.

“**RESOLVED**, with two dissenting voices only to this and the following resolution, that we hold the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves.

“**RESOLVED**, therefore, that as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and the prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.”

THE following was the address agreed upon to the minority in both houses of parliament.

MY Lords and Gentlemen,

“**WE** thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country

country. Go on. The almost unanimous voice of the people is with you, and, in a free country, the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign and are loyal; we know our duty to ourselves and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights and no more than our rights, and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence, if we doubted of success."

THE provincial committee having met and chosen the members of the national committee for the province of Ulster, unanimously resolved.

"THAT the corps of this province not represented at the meeting held this day, be and they are hereby invited to join in the resolutions of said meeting and to become members of the said association on the most equal footing.

"THAT such corps as may choose to join the said association, be and they are hereby requested to communicate their intentions to our secretary."

THE public waited with anxious and impatient solicitude for intelligence of these transactions. When they were made known and it was found that they were equally distinguished by spirit, by wisdom and moderation, the friends of their country exulted with joy anticipating the noble effects they were likely to produce. The unexpected resolutions in favour of the Roman Catholics were applauded as most honourable to Protestants and as promising an accession of strength to the cause of liberty.

THE address was universally admired. Ministry were chagrined and disappointed. They might have foreseen that their cause was desperate and that the wishes of the people must now be gratified. But, they determined to act on the same principles and were supported with zeal, as usual, by their friends in parliament. So great was their strength, which
they

they displayed in all its force, without any seeming apprehension of the consequence, that upon the several constitutional questions, which again became the subjects of discussion, they obtained an easy victory. Two things which occurred in parliament made a very deep impression.

In a debate concerning the exclusive legislative privileges of Ireland, a member in the service of government who filled a high department in the law, speaking of the acts imposed upon us by England, asserted, "that power constituted right." A motion that it should be declared that the commons were the representatives of the people, was negatived. It was felt that if the former of these was true, then Irishmen were not only slaves, but that their masters were despots on principle. The latter led to a suspicion that the commons had renounced their connexion with their constituents and did not consider themselves as the delegated guardians of their property and their liberties. By these means the dissatisfaction of the nation was aggravated, but its deliverance fast approached.

Adieu.

L E T T E R XCIV.

BY this time, the Dungannon resolutions had operated with a force adequate to the most sanguine expectations of our patriots. They were adopted by the Volunteers of every province with a unanimity and zeal approaching to enthusiasm. The friends of government and those who had been hitherto luke warm were borne down, irresistibly, by the torrent, and began to stand forth as zealous champions for the constitution and the rights of their country.

THE

THE committees of correspondence which were appointed, and more particularly, the national committee now completed by members delegated from the corps of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, were the centre of communication to which the sentiments of the different associations were conveyed and by which all the parts of the great body were united.

IMMEDIATELY after the meeting at Dungannon, an association was formed and published in the name of the nobility, representatives, freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Armagh wherein they set forth, that it was now necessary to express their sentiments respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this nation. By a seasonable application, to terminate any anxious jealousy and prevent the possibility of any future contest, they declared, that in every situation of life and with all the means in their power, they would assert and maintain the constitutional right of this kingdom to be governed by such laws only as were enacted by the King lords and commons of Ireland, and that they would in every instance, uniformly and strenuously, oppose the execution of any statutes, except such as derived authority from said parliament; pledging themselves to their country and to one another, to support with their lives and fortunes, this their solemn declaration.

THE declaration of Armagh was adopted by several counties; from the rest appeared other publications equally expressive of a determined purpose to vindicate the constitutional rights of Ireland. Grand juries, cities, towns, corporations, parishes, all ranks and degrees of men, animated by the same sentiments and with united voice spoke out boldly in behalf of the privileges of their country. A more universal, more warm and spirited concurrence in fa-

vour

vour of liberty is not to be found, even from the earliest period, in the history of any nation in the world.

IRISHMEN now saw with joy the speedy approach of the consummation of all their wishes. It was hastened by a removal of the British ministry, whose precipitate counsels had lost America and suspended the safety of England, on the brink of destruction. Those substituted in their place, both in England and in this country, were more distinguished by political wisdom, and actuated by more liberal principles of government. The Duke of Portland, whose ancestor was intimately connected with our Great Deliverer and a warm friend of the revolution, was sent to preside in the affairs of Ireland. He came over the beginning of April seventeen hundred and eighty two. As measures, not only on the other side, but with respect to this country were totally changed, shortly after his arrival, he sent a message to parliament, acquainting them, that he had it in command from his Majesty to inform them, that his Majesty being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies were prevailing among his loyal subjects of this country, upon matters of great weight and importance, he recommended to parliament to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment, as might give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

A LONG period had elapsed since Irishmen had heard such language as this from the throne. Our patriots rejoiced. Even the most venal, delivered from temptation to sacrifice their integrity to selfish motives, might now freely act the part most conducive to the public good.

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THE commons, unanimously, represented their own sentiments and those of the nation concerning the state of the kingdom, in an address to the throne, in which, after thanking his Majesty for his gracious message, and declaring their attachment to his person and government, they assure him, that his subjects of Ireland are a free people, that the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connexion, the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend: But that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof; that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the king, lords and commons of Ireland, nor any other parliament which hath any authority or power, of any sort whatsoever, in this country, save only the parliament of Ireland. They assure his Majesty, that they humbly conceive, that in this right the very essence of their liberties did exist, a right which they, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and which they cannot yield but with their lives. They assure his Majesty, that they had seen, with concern, certain claims advanced by the parliament of Great Britain, in an act, entitled an act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland; an act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation. They inform his Majesty, that they conceive this act and the claims it advances to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom. They assure the King, that his Majesty's commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish, that all bills which become law in Ireland, should receive the approbation of his Majesty, under the seal of Great Britain, but that yet
they

they consider the practice of suppressing our bills in the council of Ireland, or altering the same any where, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy. They assure his Majesty, that an act, entitled an act for the better accommodation of his Majesty's forces, being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom. They inform his Majesty, that they had submitted these, the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, in humble expectation of redress. They express their confidence and satisfaction in his Majesty's wisdom, in the choice of the chief governor he had made, and in the constitutional councils which he had adopted. They conclude with assuring the King that they were more confident in the hope of redress, as the people of Ireland had been and were not more disposed to share the freedom of England than to support her in her difficulties and to share her fate. A similar address was moved and agreed to unanimously in the house of lords.

Adieu.

L E T T E R XCV.

IN the speech of the Lord Lieutenant, soon after to both houses, he informed them, that he was enabled, by the magnanimity of the King; and by the wisdom of the British parliament to assure them, that immediate attention had been paid to their representations, and that the legislature of Britain had concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of their discontents, and were united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in the late addresses to the throne ;

throne; that, in the mean time, his Majesty was graciously disposed to give his royal assent to acts to prevent the suppressing of bills in the Irish privy council and to limit the mutiny bill to the term of two years.

IN the address of the commons, consequent to these most agreeable assurances, having expressed their sense of the King's magnanimity in paying such early attention to their representations, and of the wisdom of the British parliament, they acquaint his Majesty, that they conceived the resolution for an unqualified repeal of the Sixth of George the First to be a measure of consummate wisdom and justice suitable to the dignity and eminence of both nations, exalting their character and furnishing a perpetual pledge of their mutual amity. They inform his Majesty that they would prepare bills to satisfy the wishes of his people, and assure him, that when gratified in these particulars, no constitutional question betwixt the two nations would any longer exist to interrupt their harmony, and that Great Britain, as she had approved their firmness, she might rely on their affection. They declare that common interest, perpetual connexion, the recent conduct of Great Britain, a native affection to the British name and nation, together with the constitution which they had recovered and the high reputation which they possessed must ever decide the wishes as well as the interest of Ireland to perpetuate the harmony, the stability and glory of the empire. To this address there were but two dissentients.

ADDRESSES were likewise presented by parliament to the lord lieutenant expressive of their very thankful acknowledgements for the active part he had taken in this interesting business. The commons, in proof of their loyalty and of the generous
sentiments

sentiments with which they were inspired by the most agreeable change about to take place in our situation, voted a hundred thousand pounds to his Majesty to enable him to raise twenty thousand men for the navy. Shortly after, they likewise voted that five thousand troops should be sent to his assistance, of our establishment.

A CONVICTION that no doubts were to be entertained of the sincerity of government and that we were now to be compleatly emancipated made on every mind, in all parts of the kingdom, the deepest impression. Nothing was to be heard but the language of joy and mutual congratulation.

THE glorious efforts of our Volunteers, were in a peculiar manner, the object of gratitude and the theme of universal panegyrick. Every benefactor of the nation, in proportion to his exertions in the common cause, was the subject of praise. But none was placed in so conspicuous a point of view as Mr. Grattan. This faithful senator had always maintained a most respectable character, but from the commencement of the present struggle for liberty, he stepped forth as the most strenuous advocate of our rights, in defence of which, his great abilities, his eloquence and persevering firmness shined with a brilliant lustre. His countrymen, by warm and repeated expressions of applause had animated him to persevere. On the present occasion, addresses of thanks conveying the strongest sentiments of esteem and gratitude, flowed in upon him from all quarters. From the commons, he received a proof of gratitude, honourable in the highest degree and more substantial. They addressed the King to give him fifty thousand pounds as a recompense of his services, for which they engaged to make provision. This request was complied with.

BUT

BUT that perfect confidence of freedom, and the joy which had hitherto pervaded the nation was very soon interrupted. When it was found that the intended repeal of the declaratory act, was to be a simple repeal, without any expression relinquishing the claim contained in it of a right in Britain to make laws to bind us, some members of the house of commons declared, that they did not think it a competent security against future encroachments. Mr. Flood was of this opinion, in support of which, his eloquence and distinguished abilities were called forth into the strongest exertions. But the commons, almost unanimously, continued in the persuasion, that a simple repeal of the obnoxious act, with the other measures to be adopted in favour of Ireland, was to be considered as a compleat emancipation. A number of the people began now to entertain different sentiments. It is natural for those whose rights have been violated, to be suspicious of the designs of the oppressor, in any transaction not so perfectly clear as to exclude all doubt, especially if it respects the relinquishment of a power which the latter has long exercised. In this juncture, to preserve unanimity, it was thought most expedient to call provincial meetings of the Volunteers, to give them an opportunity of declaring their sentiments, which there was reason to suppose would have a powerful influence. Accordingly, delegates from Leinster met the nineteenth of June; those of Ulster assembled at Dungannon, two days after. Both meetings agreed upon an address to the King, in which their views and sentiments, respecting the principal point, appeared to be the same. They coincided in declaring to his Majesty, that in consequence of the addresses of the Irish parliament having disclaimed all power and authority whatever in the

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the parliament of England over this country, they would consider an unqualified and unconditional repeal of the sixth of George the First by the British parliament, made in consequence of the said addresses, as a compleat renunciation of the principle and of the claims contained in the said statute, and as such would accept and deem it satisfactory.

FIVE gentlemen of their number were appointed by the delegates of Ulster to present their address to his Majesty. Addresses were likewise agreed upon to the Lord Lieutenant, to Lord Charlemont and to Mr. Grattan.

LORD Charlemont was elected commander in chief of the Volunteers of this province. This was the highest possible mark of respect which they could bestow on this distinguished nobleman. Perhaps no subject ever received equal honours to those already conferred upon him by the Volunteers of Ulster. He was their greatest favourite. They had frequently chosen him reviewing general and presented him with addresses equally expressive of affectionate esteem, gratitude and veneration. He was well entitled to every honor and to every expression of regard in their power. For he opposed venality and laboured to serve his country at a time when he had few to support him and when the approbation of his own mind was his only reward. With the first opening of our late glorious prospect he employed his distinguished abilities and his influence, with animated zeal in the public service; he redoubled his efforts, improved every circumstance conducive to the redress of our grievances with a spirit and perseverance which has entitled him, in an eminent degree, to the honourable character of a saviour of his country.

THE delegates of Connaught met likewise. They also transmitted an address to the King, the principle of which, respecting the declaratory act, was the same with that of the Leinster and Ulster addresses, but it contained this remarkable expression. "A revival of the claims, in Britain, either of external or internal legislation, would for ever sever the two countries."

AT the meeting which took place some time after of the Volunteers of Munster nothing was done. Though there were no dissentients at Dungannon, there was a large number not satisfied with the principle of the address, but they thought it their duty on that occasion, to sacrifice their private opinion to unanimity. From the Connaught address several corps dissented. When the Munster Volunteers assembled, the discontented were numerous. This was the reason which induced them to think it most expedient to make no public declaration of their sentiments.

Adieu.

LETTER XCVI.

THE session of parliament ended about the middle of Summer. Before it rose, these bills received the royal assent.

A BILL to empower the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors and council of this kingdom, for the time being, to certify all such bills and none other as both houses of parliament shall judge expedient to be enacted in this kingdom, to his Majesty his heirs and successors, under the great seal of Ireland, without addition, diminution or alteration: All such bills thus transmitted and returned under the great seal of Great Britain, without addition,

addition, diminution or alteration, and none other to pass in the parliament of this kingdom: No bill necessary to be certified into Great Britain as a cause or consideration for holding a parliament in Ireland.

A BILL to limit the mutiny act to two years and to repeal the other obnoxious parts of the late statute.

A BILL enacting that, from henceforth, all erroneous judgments, orders and decrees shall be finally examined and reformed in the high court of parliament in this kingdom only, and that, for this purpose, the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor, or governors, shall and may grant warrants for sealing writs of error returnable into parliament.

AN habeas corpus law, and one for rendering the judges independent of the crown were also enacted.

A NUMBER of people in this country held their estates by the authority of English laws, to quiet their minds, an act likewise passed impressing these British statutes with the sanction of the Irish legislature. These were advantages, all of which were highly necessary to our liberty, some of them more eminently essential to it; but, until this glorious period of freedom, we had contended for them in vain.

THE following laws were enacted respecting Roman Catholics.

By an act passed in seventeen hundred and seventy eight, Roman Catholics were empowered to take leases, for any term of years, not exceeding nine hundred and ninety nine, or for any term of years determinable on any number of lives not exceeding five. They were now enabled to purchase or take by grant, limitation, descent or devise, any lands, tenements or hereditaments in this kingdom,

with certain exceptions, and to dispose of them by will or otherwise, to descend according to the course of common law, deviseable and transferable in like manner as the lands of Protestants. By the same law, certain penal acts respecting the hearing and the celebrating of mass, forbidding Roman Catholics to keep a horse of or above the value of five pounds, empowering grand juries to levy from them, in their respective districts, money to the amount of such losses as were sustained by the depredations of privateers, requiring them to provide, in towns, Protestant watchmen, and forbidding them to inhabit the city of Limerick or suburbs, were repealed.

So much of former acts as forbade them to teach school publicly, or to instruct youth, of their own profession, in private, was also repealed and a law enacted to permit them to have the guardianship the care and tuition of their own children.

THUS were Roman Catholics, by the equity of our legislature, to the honor of Protestants and of the present distinguished period, restored to these privileges, of which, during a long season of oppression, they had been most unjustly deprived. It is not merely the advantages they have now obtained, which encourage them to be pleased with their situation and to look forward with comfort to happier days. Their most flattering prospect arises from the spirit of the times. This, which was cherished and diffused by the Dungannon resolutions, operates strongly in their favour. The unwise policy of injuring their rights is now pretty clearly understood. Unchristian bigotry with respect to them has lost much of its influence. Protestants are disposed to treat them kindly and have pleasure in the thought
that

that their circumstances will be rendered, in some time, conducive, in all respects, to their happiness.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XC VII.

THE act repealing the sixth of George the First had now passed the British legislature and arrived in Ireland. It was in these words. "Whereas an act was passed in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty, King George the First, entitled, an act for the better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, may it please your most excellent Majesty that it be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled and by the authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this act, the above mentioned act and the several matters and things therein contained, shall be and is and are hereby repealed." Notwithstanding the addresses of the Volunteers of the three provinces, the dispute which had commenced in respect to this act, as a competent security of our exclusive legislative rights became every day more warm and universal. But no change, had taken place, concerning this question, among our representatives, a few excepted. The last time the point was debated in the house of commons it was determined in the affirmative, with only six dissenting voices.

THE reasons which supported their opinion and for some time at first were considered as conclusive by a great majority of the nation, were, that the declaratory law with it's claims were pointed out in the address of our parliament, in the most express

terms, as the grievance of all others the most intolerable to Irishmen; that the unreserved, unconditional repeal of that law, in consequence, with all the circumstances attending it, could, with fairness, be construed in no other sense than as a disavowal on the part of Britain, of every claim to bind us, in future, by her laws; that Britain must know that to do away the law and yet retain the claim, would be no wise consistent with his Majesty's declaration, that all our grievances should be redressed; that if an English law, pretending authority to bind this nation, had existed, antecedent to the declaratory act, a simple repeal of it would have been insufficient, but that no such law did exist, therefore the repeal ought to be adequate to our wishes; that as the sixth of George the First asserted that England, had, hath, and, of right ought to have a power to make laws to bind Ireland, the repeal of it was equal to a declaration that England had not, hath not and ought not to have a power to bind us, in future. They said that to suppose the declaration to be done away and that the claim, which was the thing declared, remained, was altogether absurd; that the honor and good faith of England were solemnly pledged to us in the eyes of Europe, on which, if we could not rely, no additional security would be of any use to us; that with relation to what is called legal security, our situation was quite different from that of individuals under the same government, to decide whose differences a common tribunal is provided, but with respect to England and us, there was no tribunal but the world, in whose judgment, that country could not be rendered more criminal if she violated her faith as already pledged to this nation; that respecting all the particulars contained in our address, the kingdom was committed,

to deviate from which by advancing new claims upon England, would be injurious to our national dignity and to good faith, the breach of which was setting before England a bad example in relation to her own engagements. They farther added, that not to rest satisfied with the removal of the grievance, but to insist upon our sister country making a mortifying acknowledgement of her past injustice, was a humiliation, to which it was unreasonable to suppose her pride would suffer her to submit and which, considering her present state of weakness and repentance, would cast a dishonourable reflexion on our generosity. Ingenuous refinements had nothing to do with the Irish constitution which we were not to look for in the British statute books but in the ancient privileges of the kingdom; these we must protect, not by written agreements but by our own spirit and force; that a consciousness of freedom and a determined resolution to defend it were true dignity and our only bulwark; that to raise scruples with respect to our present situation was weak and tended to furnish England with arguments which she might afterwards use to our prejudice.

It was admitted, by those on the other side, that the declaratory law with its claims injurious to our rights, were fully stated in the address to the throne, but they denied that this involved an obligation of resting satisfied with a simple repeal of it, as the word repeal or any term specifying our wishes in respect to it were not mentioned in the statement of our grievances. They argued, that the parliament called for a total emancipation from the usurped authority of the British legislature; if therefore the requisition was not complied with in all its parts, instead of being our duty, it would be criminal to be satisfied; that the repeal was not unqualified,

fied, for had it been so, it would have taken away every thing obnoxious to our constitution, instead of this, it had reserved the assumed authority of all things most inconsistent with it; that whatever were the circumstances connected with the address, England must know and every unprejudiced Irishman must see, that a simple repeal of a declaratory act, extended no farther than to a repeal of the declaration, and that nothing would be more improper than to rest our privileges upon construction, which ought to be ascertained in the fullest, the clearest and most express terms. They pleaded that the repeal of an enacting law, took away that which, antecedent to the repeal, was law; that the repeal of a declaratory law did not affect the principle, but left it in full force; that the principle of the declaratory law in question was the claim of a right to make laws to bind Ireland which still existed, and, if not renounced by England, might, at a future day, be revived to forge new chains for this country. They said, that it was nothing to the purpose for us to deny that any prior law existed of which the sixth of George the First was declaratory; England, the power against which we were to guard, asserted it; it was asserted by some of her most celebrated lawyers; in many cases the assumed right had been exercised, examples of which, in a number of acts yet unrepealed, were to be found, at this day, in the British statute books. This appears, they observed, from the very law in question, the title of it being "A law for better securing the dependence of Ireland on the British crown," if there was no supposed antecedent dependence of this country on Great Britain by law, by the exercise of a claim of right or authority, these words have no meaning. It was their opinion, that the faith of England was not so pledged,

pledged, that her obligation not to injure us in future could not be heightened, for if to the simple repeal, even with all the circumstances attending it, were added a renunciation of the principle, she would then be bound in the eyes of the world, not indirectly or by implication, but expressly and solemnly, and therefore, in point of honor, would be more powerfully restrained from breaking the obligation; that it was injurious to ourselves and to our posterity not to guard against the future violation of our rights, by obtaining the greatest possible security; that legal security, of all others the best, might be obtained by nations under the same crown; that such was the security which England gave to Scotland at the union; it had never been infringed; it had remained an impregnable defence of their liberties. Great Britain had offered to renounce all claims of a power to bind America, why then did she not part with her assumed authority in respect to us? To decline insisting upon this, from a regard to the pride of England, was, in their eyes, false delicacy. The pride of England, say they, is the pride of power, which had been cherished by a series of usurpations on the rights of our constitution, to which, every regard to justice and to our preservation required it should now be sacrificed; Great Britain had no claim at present upon our gratitude or generous feelings, as she had not treated us with affection or even with justice, in the day of her prosperity. If in the season of England's weakness, when so many circumstances combined in their favour, Irishmen did not assert, effectually, their own rights, the opportunity would, in a short time, be lost for ever.

IN this dispute, the point was not whether we should be satisfied with any thing short of the full re-establishment

re-establishment of our rights; that we should not, all parties were agreed; the question entirely was, whether we were actually free? That those disposed to acquiesce in the repeal, who alone were liable to suspicion, did not design to give up any security of our privileges, is evident, for in that number were to be found the first characters in the nation, men whom she will ever boast of as her pride and ornament, who had exerted every nerve to promote our interest, and in whose abilities and integrity the people had placed the highest confidence.

BESIDES the arguments mentioned above, several matters occurred, during the course of the debate, which had influence in adding to the number of those who were dissatisfied with our situation.

AN English law permitting a liberty of importation from one of the West India Islands taken from us during the war, mentioned, as affected by it, all his Majesty's dominions, and, of course, included Ireland; this, though said to have been owing to a clerical error and a law of the same import was enacted by our legislature, made an unfavourable impression, in respect to the intentions of the British parliament towards this country. Great offence was taken at a member of the English house of lords for a speech in parliament in which he asserted, that Great Britain had a right to bind Ireland by her laws in matters of an external nature and proposed to bring in a bill to that purpose. Some circumstances, with respect to it, were at first misunderstood, particularly obnoxious, which enflamed the public discontent. Lord Beauchamp, one of the English commons, a nobleman who had uniformly supported the rights of this country, in a letter addressed to one of our respectable Volunteer corps, took much pains to shew that the security of our legislative

gislative privileges which we had obtained from the British parliament, was insufficient. This also made converts. The sentiments of the lawyers corps who had taken the question into consideration and gave it as their opinion that our privileges were yet insecure, produced a similar effect. But there was a circumstance which, of all others, created uneasiness, as it was thought to be a convincing proof, that a farther adjustment with England was indispensibly necessary. The Irish act for reforming erroneous judgments in our own parliament was extended to all causes depending in England posterior to the first of June. Directly in the face of this law, the chief justice of the English court of king's bench retained and gave judgment in an Irish cause, subsequent to that period. From these reasons and circumstances the strength of the party dissatisfied with the present security of our rights, daily encreased. But the cause of dissatisfaction with the conduct of England in respect to the repeal of the declaratory act and the wished for security of our legislative privileges was soon to be removed.

THE death of the Marquis of Rockingham, who was the bond of union and the great support of the present ministry, occasioned several of them to retire. The Duke of Portland resigned, and Lord Temple, whose patriotic administration has been universally admired, came to preside in the affairs of Ireland. His brother and secretary Mr. Grenville went to England and made such representations of the discontent which prevailed here concerning the insufficiency of the repeal of the declaratory act, that Mr. Townshend, one of the secretaries of state, moved in the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill to remove from the minds of the people of this country all doubts respecting their legislative and judicial privileges.

privileges. It was granted. The bill which passed into a law contained in the fullest and most explicit terms, a relinquishment, on the part of the British Legislature, of all claims of a right to interfere with the judgment of our courts or to make laws to bind Ireland in future.

Thus ended a contest that involved in it every thing dear to the hearts of freemen, in which the spirit of the Irish nation, favoured by a concurrence of the most fortunate circumstances, was called forth into exertions admired by Europe and which will reflect upon our country immortal honor.

Farewell.

L E T T E R XCVIII.

FROM the reviews of last Summer which were more splendid than those of the two preceding years, it appeared that the Volunteers had still increased, that they had begun to be furnished with camp equipage; were in many places provided in artillery, and had considerably improved in discipline.

THEY continue to be remarkable for the same strictness and regularity of conduct, for the same regard to order and the same warmth of patriotism, by which, from the beginning, they have been so honourably conspicuous. As the salvation of their country has, principally, been the fruits and the reward of their astonishing efforts, it is the earnest wish and the flattering hope of the most virtuous and the wisest in the nation, that a regard, to it's future security, will induce them to retain their military character, to keep on foot their associations, and to continue those exercises necessary to preserve the knowledge of the use of arms. The kingdom being delivered from the apprehension of foreign invasion

sion and, with respect to Britain, reinstated in it's rights, the causes which led them to unite have at present ceased. Thus gratified and the object of their efforts being no longer immediately in view, there is danger of their sinking into that state of security and inaction to which the mind is prone after having been raised above it's usual state by more vigorous exertions. But this illustrious band should never cease to remember that as it was the power of England which enslaved our privileges, it was it's decline, accelerated by the operation of our force, which gave us an opportunity of rescuing them from destruction, therefore should that force cease to exert itself and a state of weakness ensue, we have only the faith of nations to secure the enjoyment of those rights for which we have so gloriously contended.

WHEN a sense of rectitude is the only support of the faith of nations, what confidence is to be placed in it by the weaker party, let the history of the world determine. You have seen that England granted us Magna Charta and on many occasions ratified our privileges, yet, in the periods of her strength and of our weakness, she violated our national independence and rendered those efforts necessary which have produced the present revolution.

THE motives of states and empires are totally different from those which influence the conduct of individuals. In their transactions with each other, policy is the rule of action. When compelled by necessity, they give up the gratifications of pride, of avarices or ambition; whenever an encrease of strength presents them with an opportunity, they seize it and resume them.

It is painful to express a thought tending to allay our joy and congratulations; but Irishmen should be

be wise, that our recovered freedom, the cause of our rejoicing, may be lasting.

IRELAND now appears to the world in an honourable light; by her magnanimity she has commanded not only respect from the nations but admiration; this should encourage her sons to maintain by their spirit and by unremitting watchfulness, the rank to which she is restored. They should likewise be animated to this by the accession of the Roman Catholics to the national force.

A DIVIDED people must always be insecure. Destitute of strength, a common enemy finds them an easy conquest. Whilst the Roman Catholics were borne down by oppression, whilst no ray of light was shed upon their prospect, and they had nothing to gain, it was not to be supposed that upon any occasion they would assist in support of the constitution. Being now sharers in it's privileges and certain that their patriotism will not lose it's reward, the defence of our rights, to them and to their Protestant fellow subjects, will be a common cause. Their mutual jealousies having in a great measure subsided, it is to be hoped that they will daily be more disposed to treat each other with mutual confidence. One cause of their past alienation, which can never be removed, should cease to operate. Roman Catholics have regretted, with much dissatisfaction, that Protestants enjoy the inheritance of their forefathers. But, in matters of property, there is a prescription which constitutes right. Length of possession, which, in this case, Protestants have to plead, has conveyed to the present occupiers, an equitable title to lands, whose progenitors obtained them by injustice. Besides, many settlements taken from the Irish have not descended to Protestants in a direct line. Transferred, by purchase

chafe and a variety of legal conveyances, they are held by a tenure very different, and one which on no pretence can be disputed. The monks applied to the Catholic assembly met at Kilkenny in sixteen hundred and forty two, for restitution of all the possessions taken from Protestants, but the assembly refused to comply with their desire, for this reason, among others, "because the same was the inheritance of divers, bought for valuable considerations, much of it settled for jointures and allowed by the bulls of Cardinal Pole." Were possession uninterrupted from the earliest period by any unjust encroachment, necessary to establish the right of the present occupier, the Roman Catholics could have no claim to property in this kingdom. A great majority of them are the descendants of the English adventurers who robbed the natives of their rights; the rest of them, who derive their origin from the Milesians, know, that these emigrants were justified by no equitable motive when they invaded Ireland. Were claims of property suffered to have a retrospect beyond a certain period, there is not a nation of the world that would not be involved in inextricable confusion, and, in which, injustice would not oppress a multitude of individuals.

PROTESTANT Dissenters, whose breasts have always glowed with an ardent zeal for the liberties of their country, who, on every occasion, have firmly resisted the encroachments of arbitrary power and who strenuously displayed their native love of freedom during the whole of the late glorious contest, have now an additional motive to assist in the defence of our national rights. The test act, by which they were unjustly excluded from offices of trust under the crown, was repealed the session of
parliament

parliament prior to the last, and they are now, in this respect, reinstated in the privileges of citizens.

BUT whilst Irishmen, without distinction, unite to maintain the constitution, they should enlarge their views and endeavour to reform it. With all it's boasted excellence, it labours under imperfections hostile to the rights of freemen. The representation of the people in the great national senate, is, in many instances, arbitrary, partial and inadequate.

So long as a majority of the commons is composed of members for boroughs, which, compared with the nation at large, are insignificant, and where a few individuals devoted to the selfish and impetuous will of a still smaller number of absolute grantees, have the sole power of election, a spirit of venality must pervade the political system. To extirpate this radical evil, to procure such an addition to the commons as will render them the real and more equal representatives of the people, to establish a mode of election which would place the freehold tenantry, upon such occasions, beyond the cognizance and the power of landlords who usurp a most unrighteous domination over their liberty and the dictates of their conscience, are objects which should engage the spirited and persevering efforts of every friend to the true interest of his country. If they were obtained and our parliament still more limited in it's duration, we might flatter ourselves with the hope of enjoying not only external but internal freedom. We might hope that as the parliament of England have relinquished all claim of legislative authority over us, her ministers and our own would cease to corrupt our representatives. Then the balance of the constitution would be preserved, which, at present, is injured by an aristocratical influence that destroys the freedom of the legislative body
and

and extends through all the departments of state. Men dependent on the crown by places and pensions would not have a voice in parliament. Provision would be made for the support of Irish ambassadors at foreign courts who would pay more attention to our interests, especially to commercial transactions, which are of so much consequence to our prosperity, than those sent from a country whose concerns they must always prefer to those in which the advantage of this kingdom is involved. From a regard to the safety of Ireland in future, to support it's independence and to prevent disputes with England, which has relinquished for ever all claim to power in respect to our maritime affairs, such a naval force would be established as would be sufficient, in time of war, to protect our trade and our coasts from the depredations of our enemies. Our laws would be revised. Those which relate to crimes would be softened in the punishments they inflict so as not to violate the principles of justice and humanity. The revenue laws which are so hostile to the rights of the subject that they ought not to be tolerated in a free state, would be entirely changed. The price of land having reduced multitudes to a state of wretchedness would be reduced upon the same principle which has confined the value of other articles within the limits of moderation. That we might reap the expected advantage from our extended liberty of commerce, statutes would be enacted to cherish our arts, trades and manufactures. In equalizing the duties upon articles imported from the West Indies, a due regard would be paid to the relative situation and riches of England and this country, that the change which has taken place in that branch of trade, may be beneficial and not hurtful to us.

If the people were fairly represented in the great legislative council, the members elected by them could not have an interest separate from that of their constituents, and these, with every other advantage, would be obtained, conducive to national prosperity. The influence of a minister whose unconstitutional principles and measures of government have tarnished the glory and shaken the foundations of the British empire, has rendered unsuccessful the late attempt to reform the parliament of England; This, instead of discouraging, should furnish us with a new motive to be strenuous in pursuit of the same object, as it is an additional proof of the pollution of a source from whence have flowed upon us large streams of corruption. It would be honourable to encrease the reputation we have already acquired by setting before our sister country, in this instance, an example of public virtue. Irishmen united in their desires and exertions for accomplishing this essential improvement of the constitution, must be successful.

THE period of returning to parliament new members fast approaches. Should those chosen by the counties and independent boroughs, though the minority, be men of approved integrity, their efforts inspirited by the instructions of their constituents and supported by the general voice, would be irresistible. An incentive more glorious cannot be conceived. Never was there a time when the public mind was so well prepared for being actuated by its utmost force. The vigour and the sentiments which have wrought for us so great and so unexpected a deliverance should animate our freeholders to spurn every attempt of connexions or of power to make them prostitute their votes; should teach them, on the day of election, to examine the objects

objects of their choice with an attentive, discriminating eye, and to reject with indignation the servile instruments of venality and corruption. If the flame of patriotism which, for almost five years, has burned in the breasts of our people with so pure and so bright a lustre be not permitted to die, if Irishmen continue to be just to themselves, what a coincidence of circumstances diffuse a cheering light upon our prospect! Emancipated from foreign bondage; by the blessing of peace, our intercourse, with new advantages, opened with the several nations of Europe, with Africa, with the West Indies, with our brethren in America, who, after a glorious struggle, have, with us, attained the accomplishment of their wishes.

MAY that Omnipotent Providence whose signal interposition in our favour should warm our hearts with gratitude, direct us to a wise and virtuous improvement of his gifts; may he continue to shine upon our land and to guard it from all its enemies; may he cherish and invigorate the spirit of the nation; may he establish and preserve to us the blessings of peace and liberty and transmit them to the latest posterity,

Farewell.

F I N I S.